

DUKE
UNIVERSITY



LIBRARY

EAST CAMPUS LIBRARY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2021 with funding from
Duke University Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/criticalhistoric00offn>

A CORPUS OF FLORENTINE PAINTING

A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL
CORPUS
OF
FLORENTINE
PAINTING

BY
RICHARD OFFNER
AND
KLARA STEINWEG

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
DISTRIBUTED BY
J. J. AUGUSTIN PUBLISHER, LOCUST VALLEY, NEW YORK

Library of Congress Catalogue Number 58-15 756

Printed in The United States of America

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

SECTION IV
VOLUME VI

ANDREA BONAIUTI

MCMLXXIX

E.C.L.
759.55
032C
Sect. IV
v.6

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although the three volumes devoted to the Cione brothers ought to be considered as a unity, that on Andrea Bonaiuti should have appeared earlier, because the style of Jacopo, the youngest of the Cione brothers, was already influenced by that of Andrea. It would at least have been preferable to have concluded the discussion of the works of Andrea, Nardo and Jacopo di Cione with the volume on Andrea Bonaiuti. This, however, was prevented by the flood of 1966 and by the impossibility at that time to have new photographs taken of the frescoes in the Spanish Chapel. It was also hoped that by postponing the volume on Andrea the restoration of the Chapel would be completed, thereby allowing the frescoes of the entrance wall and adjoining vault segment to be published in their restored state. This hope has proved vain; for the Soprintendenza has been so totally occupied with the restoration of works damaged by the flood, that the work in the Spanish Chapel still remains unfinished. These were the reasons for anticipating the publication of the two volumes on Giovanni del Biondo (Sec. IV, Vols. IV, V).

The works of Andrea Bonaiuti will also be dealt with in two volumes, as the great number of new photographs of the frescoes, here published for the first time, would alone exceed the limits of one book. This has also meant deviating from the chronological arrangement adopted in the Corpus, since otherwise many of the paintings attributed to Andrea would have had to precede the discussion of any of his documented works. Consequently, the frescoes of the chapter-hall of S. Maria Novella—only later called the Spanish Chapel—are included in the first volume in order to provide a basis for the discussion of the artist's oeuvre. Although autograph, the poor condition of the frescoes of the Camposanto at Pisa unfortunately makes them only of secondary importance for stylistic analysis. It is to be hoped that measures will soon be taken towards saving these frescoes from complete decay.

The sequence of the frescoes given in this volume will not coincide exactly with their order of execution. The major frescoes, which provide the most reliable basis for a discussion of the artist's style, will be examined first, and then the vault. The latter is technically and stylistically earlier but presents problems of workshop intervention. The description of each fresco precedes its foreword. Hopefully this arrangement will make it easier to follow the analysis of the fresco given in the foreword. The sections covering State, History and Bibliography will be grouped together at the end of the volume to avoid unnecessary repetition. Cross-references will, of course, be given.

The iconographical problems connected with the two frescoes of the Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas and the Church Militant and Triumphant have constituted the greatest difficulty in the preparation of this volume. I am most grateful to Frau Dr. Antje Middeldorf-Kosegarten who has helped me in many ways and especially by doing research on early Dominican literature. Unfortunately, however, it has proved impossible to trace specific sources for the iconographical scheme of either fresco. This was also confirmed by Frau Dr. Uta Feldges, Basle, who is studying landscape in Florentine Trecento painting. Problems such as these must inevitably remain beyond the limits of time imposed on the publication of the Corpus.

The panel paintings and the other frescoes by Andrea Bonaiuti will be discussed in Part II (Sec. IV, Vol. VII), which will also include the general introduction to the artist's oeuvre. The volume will conclude with the small group of works by the "Master of the Blue Crucifixion", a pupil and close imitator of Andrea. In order not to interrupt the publication of the Corpus series unduly, the two volumes on Andrea Bonaiuti will appear successively, as was the case with Giovanni del Biondo.

My warmest thanks are due, as ever, to Professor Craig Hugh Smyth, Director of the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University. It was thanks to his efforts that grants were received from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Billy Rose Foundation to help with the financing of both volumes. Consequently we were able to have over a hundred new photographs taken of the frescoes in the chapter-hall after restoration. This was done with the generous assistance of the Soprintendenza in Florence; in particular, I would like to acknowledge the help given by the former Soprintendente Prof. Ugo Procacci and by the director of the Gabinetto dei Restauri Dr. Umberto Baldini who put Signor Nadir Tronci, their excellent photographer, at our disposal for several weeks and arranged for the erection of a special scaffolding. The preparation of this volume has also been greatly helped by the assistance of the new Soprintendente Prof. Giuseppe Marchini and, as always, by the vast knowledge of Prof. Ulrich Middeldorf, former Director of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence. I am also indebted to his successor, Prof. Herbert Keutner and his colleagues, especially to Dr. Irene Hueck, for their help and co-operation and to Dr. Max Seidel for numerous suggestions he made during our discussions together. I have been kindly assisted in many ways by Prof. Myron Gilmore, Director of Villa I Tatti and his staff, Dr. Evelina Borea, Director of the Gabinetto Fotografico, and Signora Fausta Pucci, both of the Soprintendenza, Florence, and in particular by Dr. Eve Borsook. I should also like to thank Prof. Federico Zeri, Rome, Prof. Millard Meiss of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton, and Dr. Miklòs Boskovits, this year a fellow at Villa I Tatti, for various suggestions. Sig. Dino Dini, who has restored the frescoes in the chapter-hall so sensitively, has provided much useful information relating to their condition and it was with his help that the drawings reconstructing the *giornate* of the three major frescoes were made (PLS. I²⁶, II³², III²⁰). Fräulein Barbara Schleicher has again most kindly drawn a reconstruction for this volume (PL. IIP¹). I am most grateful to Signora Françoise Chiarini Pouncey for agreeing to translate the German text. Finally, I should like to thank most warmly Miss Jacqueline Darby and her successor Miss Patricia Rubin for their help in the preparation of this volume and in the checking of bibliographical references. To all those scholars to whom gratitude is due for help on particular questions treated in this volume, my thanks are expressed in the notes accompanying the appropriate sections of the text.

Florence, November 1st, 1971

Klara Steinweg

Klara Steinweg died in 1972, shortly after the manuscript of the present volume of the *Corpus of Florentine Painting* was finished. She had assisted Richard Offner with the *Corpus* for many years. It had been his practice to work on more than one volume at once, and a good many volumes had been brought close to completion. After his death in 1965 Klara Steinweg undertook to finish as many volumes as she could, adhering to the same very high standards. The Institute of Fine Arts is profoundly grateful to her for all that she accomplished. She was uniquely suited to the task.

At her death in 1972 the present volume was almost ready for the press. Two or three incomplete footnotes were finished by Miklós Boskovits, who also verified the English translation of the last chapters from Dr. Steinweg's original German text. Dr. Boskovits and Mrs. Jacqueline Darby Berlendis, Dr. Steinweg's assistant, have very kindly undertaken the proof reading and the work of seeing the volume through the press. They have had help with the proof reading from Eve Borsook, who has generously lent a hand to the *Corpus* on numerous occasions in the past.

Plans for the future of the *Corpus of Florentine Painting* are now settled. The Istituto di Storia dell'Arte of the University of Florence has undertaken to continue it and is preparing the first volume to be published under its auspices. Meanwhile, the Institute of Fine Arts will publish as its last volume a handlist of Richard Offner's attributions as they stand in unfinished volumes of the *Corpus*, so that a record of them will be available.

CRAIG HUGH SMYTH

CONTENTS

Note	I
Index of Plates	3
Chronology of Authenticated Facts	7-14
The frescoes in the chapter-hall of S. Maria Novella	15-20
Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas	22-31
Church Militant and Triumphant	33-43
Crucifixion	45-49
Scenes from the Life of St. Peter Martyr	51-55
Vault	56
Pentecost	57-59
Navicella	61-63
Resurrection	65-68
Ascension	69-71
Ornamental borders	73
General information on the chapter-hall of S. Maria Novella	75
Inscription and Documents	76
Giornate	77-78
State	78-83
History	83-84
Bibliography	84-97
Indices	99
Index of Artists	101-102
Index of Places	103-106

NOTE

Every work here reproduced is accompanied on the page opposite by a list of data, supplemented under the heading of *BIBLIOGRAPHY* by citations from source and critical literature. For convenience the various items are differentiated according to kind and authenticity by the type employed. The vertical type is generally used in the report of fact, such as the name of the master (if established), subject, inscription, signature, date, state, history or provenance. In the first instance the master's name appears above the data in large vertical capitals, as here: **GIOTTO**. In the absence of authentication, it heads the page in large italicized capitals, thus: *GIOTTO*. As a rule italics are used in word-for-word quotations from documents, thus: *Andreas vocato orchangnia . . .* Under *BIBLIOGRAPHY* the earliest attribution in agreement with the author's is printed in the same type, thus: *Giotto*. Smaller italics are used for excerpts from books, which are quoted as briefly as the sense will permit; while ordinary type is used for the author's own interpolations, whenever it is necessary to fill a gap in a partial quotation, thus: *furono Cimabue's works secondo il Vasari un dossale . . ed un San Francesco*. In order not to burden the text, the titles of works frequently quoted are abbreviated as in the **GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR SECTION IV** (see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, pp. XVII–XXV). Not included in the latter, but frequently referred to in the volumes on Andrea Bonaiuti is Padre Stefano Orlandi's *Necrologio di S. Maria Novella*, Firenze, I, II, 1955, which has been abbreviated to *Orlandi*.

In several cases photographs of frescoes before restoration are reproduced in order to illustrate their former condition. These plates are indicated by the words 'before restoration'.

In the present volume the abbreviation Pt. II is used for cross references to Andrea Bonaiuti, Part II (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. VII in preparation).

INDEX OF PLATES

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

FLORENCE, S. Maria
Novella, Chapter-hall or
Spanish Chapel

Frescoes: Triumph of St. Thomas
Aquinas

PLS. I-I²⁶

Church Militant and Triumphant

PLS. II-II³²

Crucifixion

PLS. III-III²⁰

Scenes from the Life of
St. Peter Martyr

PLS. IV-IV²¹

Vault

PL. V

Pentecost

PLS. VI-VI⁶

Navicella

PLS. VII-VII⁷

Resurrection

PLS. VIII-VIII⁸

Ascension

PLS. IX-IX⁷

ANDREA BONAIUTI

ANDREA BONAIUTI

CHRONOLOGY OF AUTHENTICATED FACTS

The earliest record of Andrea Bonaiuti dates from after January 1346 when his name appears, with that of Nardo di Cione, in the Guild of the *Medici e Speziali* (N.¹). It can therefore be assumed that, like the latter, he was born towards 1320 (N.²). Andrea made his will on 2 November 1377, naming his son Bartolommeo as his heir, and his death took place between 16 May and 2 June 1379 (N.³). He spent most of his life in the parish of S. Maria Novella, except for the decade between c. 1355 and 1365 and his stay in Pisa in 1377. There are very few documents relating to his works. On 30 December 1365 he undertook to decorate the chapter-hall of S. Maria Novella, later known as the Spanish Chapel, within two years. No other documents survive in connection with this commission, but it is unlikely that Andrea was able to complete the task in such a limited time. In 1374 he made a drawing for a panel of St. Luke for the saint's chapel in the men's hospital of S. Maria Nuova. Unfortunately, this painting no longer exists (N.⁴). Shortly afterwards he must have left for Pisa to paint the cycle of St. Ranieri in the Camposanto, for which only one payment, dated 13 October 1377, survives. From documents relating to other artists it is clear that Andrea was prevented by the illness which preceded his death from completing the fresco cycle (N.⁵). He cannot have been very active towards the end of his life, for in the *Prestanze* of 18 May 1370 he is described as too *miserabilis et impotens* to pay a debt (N.⁶). Apart from his activity as a painter, Andrea is recorded between 13 July 1366 and 31 May 1367 as a member of the commission which was to decide how the construction of the cathedral, starting with the main chapel, should proceed (N.⁷). This coincided with the period in which he was working in the chapter-hall of S. Maria Novella. Perhaps, therefore, the cathedral represented in the fresco of the Church Militant and Triumphant (PL. II) reflects the artist's own ideas for its completion (N.⁸).

Andrea Bonaiuti cannot have enjoyed a great reputation as an artist during his lifetime. He seems to have been overshadowed by Andrea and Nardo di Cione. The document which lists *li migliori maestri di dipingere che siano in Firenze per la tavola dell'opera di sancto Giovanni* in Pistoia does not mention him (N.⁹). Andrea is not recorded by Ghiberti and his name had become forgotten in connection with the frescoes of the chapter-hall by the time of Gelli and the first edition of Vasari (N.¹⁰). In order to give greater importance to these frescoes,

N.¹ Dr. Irene Hueck has pointed out that the entry was made in the same hand which compiled the entries from January 1346 on (see article in *Bollettino d'Arte*, LVII, 1972, 121). The same is true for Nardo di Cione, and therefore should be added to the Chronology of Authenticated Facts, *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. II, 3.

For all documents quoted here, see Chronology of Authenticated Facts, pp. 9-14.

N.² For the dates of the Cione brothers, see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. III, 1 n. 2.

N.³ See p. 14 n. 15.

N.⁴ See p. 12 n. 11.

N.⁵ See Pt. II, Pisa, Camposanto, Scenes from the life of St. Ranieri, under History.

N.⁶ This is hardly surprising since for eighteen months his salary for the murals in the chapter-hall had been withheld. Instead, he was given only a subsistence allowance while the rest of his pay was used to defray the costs of the so-called rent free quarters which had been placed at the disposal of Andrea and his wife for the rest of their lives.

N.⁷ For this period of the construction of the Florentine cathedral, see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, 4.

N.⁸ See p. 33 n. 1.

N.⁹ See *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, 7. According to Alessandro Conti the document (usually dated 1347 circa) is datable only after the plague of 1348, which seems very plausible (see in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, Serie III, vol. I, I, 1970; 110, 110 n. 1).

N.¹⁰ See Bibliography, under Gelli, 1549, and Vasari, 1550.

which Vasari attributes in his *Vite* to Taddeo Gaddi and Simone Martini, they were provided with false inscriptions on the East and West walls containing the names of these artists. The inscriptions were later removed by the restorer Agostino Veracini (N.¹¹).

However, Andrea Bonaiuti's name survived longer with the Dominicans. The name *Andrea di Bonaiuto* first appears in connection with the chapter-hall decoration in the chronicle of the monastery of S. Maria Novella written by Borghigiani in the mid-18th century (N.¹²). But since this work remained in manuscript form, it has always been overlooked (N.¹³). The earliest mention of the artist in the modern literature dates from 1846 when Bonaini discovered the document of 1377 relating to the frescoes at Pisa. On the basis of this document the frescoes of the St. Ranieri cycle in the Camposanto were identified as the work of Magister *Andreas pictor de Florentia* (PLS. in Pt. II). Crowe and Cavalcaselle were the first to attribute the four frescoes on the walls of the Spanish Chapel to the same hand (N.¹⁴). In 1878 Milanesi suggested the identification of Andrea da Firenze with Andrea Bonaiuti (N.¹⁵). Sirén accepted this theory and attempted to add other works to the artist's oeuvre (N.¹⁶). The connection between the two names became a certainty on Taurisano's discovery in 1916 of the document of 1365 relating to the chapter-hall frescoes (N.¹⁷). Since then Andrea Bonaiuti's authorship has been generally accepted.

N.¹¹ See Bibliography, under Vasari, 1550, and under G. M. Mecatti, 1737; the inscriptions are quoted by the latter.

N.¹² See Bibliography under 1757-1760.

N.¹³ More than a hundred and fifty years elapsed before art historical research, based on stylistic analysis, arrived at the same conclusion. It was remarkable that Rumohr questioned Vasari's attribution to Simone Martini (see Bibliography under 1827). Not long afterwards, Förster had similar doubts, and presented a convincing argument (see under 1835, 1845). He already noted connections between the Church Militant and Triumphant and the frescoes in Pisa, and suggested a date after 1360 (see under 1849).

N.¹⁴ See Bibliography under 1864, I, 375; II, 89.

N.¹⁵ See Milanesi in Vasari, I, 1878, 553 n. 5. It should be added that attempts have also been made to identify Andrea da Firenze with Andrea Ristori (see P. Schubring, *Pisa*, Leipzig, 1902, 94-96; Chiappelli, *Arte Fiorentina*, 1905, 71) and with Andrea Orcagna (see F. Wickhoff in *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, II, 1907, 46); but these theories were proved erroneous by the discovery of the above-mentioned document of 1365.

N.¹⁶ See *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, 323 and *Giottino*, 1908, 56-57.

N.¹⁷ See in *Il Rosario, Memorie Domenicane*, III, 1916, 224.

ANDREA BONAIUTI

CHRONOLOGY OF AUTHENTICATED FACTS (N.¹)

- 1346, after January (cf. p. 7, n. 1) FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. ARTE DEI MEDICI E SPEZIALI, 8, f. 75^v (cf. 7, f. 5^v)
Item, anno . . millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo tertio . . f. 76^r: Andreas Bonaiuti, populi Sancte Marie Novelle, pictor
 in FREY, LOGGIA DEI LANZI, 1885, 332, 333
- 1351 FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. ESTIMO, 306 (LIBRO DELLA SEGA), f. 123^v
De dicto quarterio S. Marie Novelle et vexillo Leonis Albi . . Andreas Bonaiuti—lb. quattuor et s. decem
 see COLNAGHI, 1928, 14
- 1354 FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. ESTIMO, 307 (LIBRO DELLA SEGA), f. 130^r
De vexillo Leonis Albi, Quarterii Sancte Marie Novelle . . Andreas Bonaiuti—lb. quattuor et s. decem
 see COLNAGHI, 1928, 14
-
- N.¹ The following list of documents was compiled by the late Werner Cohn. Where no bibliographical reference is given, the document is being published for the first time. The texts given here are transcriptions of the original documents and therefore do not always correspond exactly to the texts published elsewhere. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Gino Corti for checking the list and especially for having added to the document dated 18 May 1370 the statement referring to the financial difficulties of the painter. Dr. Corti was unable to check the documents in the Archives of S. Maria del Fiore, as they were damaged by the flood of 1966 and are still being restored.
 Dates given in the left margin correspond to modern reckoning. Dates marked with an asterisk refer to extant works.
 Two documents, dated 1331 and 1340, have been published by Taurisano, who identifies the artist *Andrea* with Andrea Bonaiuti. But he only matriculated in c. 1346 and would not have been working independently before then. Two further documents at Orvieto, also published by Taurisano and included below for the sake of completeness, cannot be related to Andrea Bonaiuti. Taurisano's theory that they also refer to him, merely on the grounds that an *Andrea de Florentia* is mentioned, is quite untenable (in *Il Rosario, Memorie Domenicane*, XXXIII, 1916, 222):
- 1331 FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. CONVENTI SOPPRESSI, 102 (S. MARIA NOVELLA DI FIRENZE), 292 (COMPAGNIA DI S. PIETRO MARTIRE, USCITA 1312-1340), ff. 40^r, 40^v Mcccxxxi . . *Demo di xxvi d'aprile ad Andrea dipintore per le figure e per gl'agnoli—lb. o s. x*
Demo ad Andrea dipintore che rachonciò la dona del cero—s. VII (no date, but this entry is between 11 and 16 August)
- 1340 FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. CONVENTI SOPPRESSI, 102 (S. MARIA NOVELLA), 292 (COMPAGNIA DI S. PIETRO MARTIRE, USCITA 1312-1340), f. 60^v
Mcccxl . . Demo ad Andrea dipintore per fare una storia de la nostra dona a modo del ghoñfalone (sic)—lib. i s. xvi
 (the date 1340 is written on top of the page; this entry is between 9 and 30 July)
 published by I. TAURISANO in *Il Rosario, Memorie Domenicane*, XXXIII, 1916, 220, 220 n. 4 (gives the date as 1339)
- 1368, October 28th ORVIETO, ARCHIVIO DELL'OPERA DEL DUOMO. CAM. VIII
Andree de Florentia pro tribus diebus per eundem servitis in dicto opere ad rationem viii sol. den. pro die quolibet
 in FUMI, 1891, 134
- 1368, November 18th ORVIETO, ARCHIVIO DELL'OPERA DEL DUOMO, CAM. VIII
Andree de Florentia . . ad pistandum tabulam pro musaycho fiendo in parieti anteriori
 in FUMI, 1891, 134

- 1358
N.² FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. ARTE DEI MEDICI E SPEZIALI, 9, f. 1^r
In Dei nomine amen. Hic est liber sive quaternus et nova matricula . . facta sub annis . . millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo ottavo
f. 1v: *Andreas Bonaiuti, pictor, populi Sancte Marie Maioris*
in FREY, LOGGIA DEI LANZI, 1885, 336
- 1364,
December f. 73^v
14th
N.³ FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. PRESTANZE. 119: QUARTIERE DI S. GIOVANNI,
de vexillo Dragonis . . Andreas Bonaiuti—flor. quattuor auri et dimidium . . Mccclxiii . . die xiiii decembris . . dictus Andreas . . solvit . . florenos duos et quartum alius floreni
- *1365,
December ff. 40^v–41^r
30th
N.⁴ FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DEL CONVENTO DI S. MARIA NOVELLA. LIBER NOVUS (Ms.),
Sia manifesto a chiunque vedrà questa scritta che io frate Zenobi de' Guasconi, priore de' frati predicatori del convento di Sancta Maria Novella di Firenze, di consentimento e volontà de' frati del detto convento, anno Domini 1365 del mese di dicembre adì 30, diedi ad Andrea di Bonaiuto dipintore, a vita sua e dela donna sua (N.⁵), cioè monna Francesca, una casa nela quale al presente habita, posta nella nostra piazza nuova, la quale fu di Buto tavernaio, per prezzo di fiorini d'oro sexantacinque. Li quali danari egli non debbe pagare contanti, ma debbe scontargli nela dipintura del nostro capitolo, sì veramente ch'egli debbe avere sconti da gennaio che viene a mesi diciotto proximi che verranno, ricevento (sic) dal detto convento in questo tempo del suo lavorio alchuno danaio sì che possa sostenere la vita sua. El detto Andrea debbe avere dipinto tucto il capitolo dal detto K(a)lendi di gennaio a due anni, essendo egli pagato chome sarà ragionevole del detto lavorio, a quella pena che parrà al priore che sarà per lo tempo. E con ciò sia cosa che nella parte di sotto della detta casa habita una donna col suo marito la quale à nome Monna Balda, intendiamo, vogliamo e dichiariamo che 'l detto Andrea non possa cacciare la detta donna dela detta casa, nè lei in veruno modo molestare nè la pigione usata crescere, ma lei tenere in quella libertà che infino a qui è stata. E in testimonio dele predecite cose, io frate Zenobi predetto la presente cedola, di consentimento de' detti frati, ò scripto di mia propria mano e registrata nel libro del nostro convento e suggellata del suggello del convento predecito e del mio officio, anno mesi (sic) e dì decto di sopra
published by I. TAURISANO in IL ROSARIO, MEMORIE DOMENICANE, XXXIII, 1916, 224–225
see V. M. BORGHIGIANI, CRONICA ANNALISTICA DEL CONVENTO DI S. MARIA NOVELLA, II, 1757–1760, ff. 109–110 (Ms. in Archivio del convento di S. Maria Novella, Florence)
see ORLANDI, I, 1955, 617–618

N.² Andrea Bonaiuti's name appears here in an alphabetical list of members already enrolled in the guild.

N.³ In order to avoid unnecessary repetition, only a few of the annual *Prestanze* are quoted here.

N.⁴ The following passage was written in the margin by a later hand:

Copia cuiusdam littere in vulgari, sigillate sigillo conventus et prioratus, concesse Andree pictori.

Marcucci gives the date of this document as 3 December, 1365, but this was certainly an oversight (see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, III, 1961, 83).

N.⁵ The passage *a vita sua e dela donna sua* was written in the margin by a later hand.

- 1366,
July
13th
N.⁶
- FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DELL'OPERA DI S. MARIA DEL FIORE. DELIBERAZIONI, II, f. 64
Andreas Bonaiuti and others . . pictores deputati per consules Artis spetiariorum, ad requisitionem dictorum consulum et operariorum, ad consulendum eisdem supra operariis super factis et hedificatione et fortificatione dicte ecclesie, responderunt, videlicet: Quod ipsi petunt per unum mensem ad desingnandum qualiter videtur eisdem quod dictum hedificium procedat. Et ostenso dicto consilio, consulerunt quod incipiatur dalla capella maggiore ad laborandum et hedificandum
 in GUASTI, 1887, 167
 see MILANESI in VASARI, I, 1878, 583 n. 2 (N.⁷)
 see CAVALLUCCI, I, 1881, 40
- 1366,
July
20th
- FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DELL'OPERA DI S. MARIA DEL FIORE. DELIBERAZIONI, II, f. 65
Infrascripti sunt Pictores deputati per operarios predictos similiter ad faciendum desingnum seu modellum, et ad consulendum eisdem operariis ad supra scripta omnia, eisdem operariis transmissi per consules Artis spetiariorum pro bonis et idoneis, videlicet: . . Andreas Bonaiuti and others
 in BOITO, ARCHITETTURA DEL MEDIO EVO IN ITALIA, MILANO, 1880, 249-250
 in GUASTI, 1887, 168
 see CAVALLUCCI, I, 1881, 40-41
- 1366,
August
20th
- FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DELL'OPERA DI S. MARIA DEL FIORE. DELIBERAZIONI, II, f. 71
Die . . XX augusti . . Predicti operarii concorditer elegerunt ad faciendum desingnum dicte ecclesie, qualiter debeat hedificari dicta ecclesia pro honore dicti Communis: . . Andrean Bonaiuti and others
 in GUASTI, 1887, 178
 see CAVALLUCCI, I, 1881, 43
- 1366,
August
28th
- FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DELL'OPERA DI S. MARIA DEL FIORE. DELIBERAZIONI, II, f. 19
Die . . xxviii . . augusti. Predicti operarii concorditer stantiaverunt quod camerarius . . solvat florenos triginta duos auri infrascriptis magistris, pro eorum laborerio et labore per eos impenso in designandum dictum opus, videlicet: . . Andreuczo (sic, N.⁸) and others
 in GUASTI, 1887, 178
 see CAVALLUCCI, I, 1881, 43
- 1367,
May
31st
- FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DELL'OPERA DI S. MARIA DEL FIORE. DELIBERAZIONI, II, f. 23
Item . . stantiaverunt quod camerarius det et solvat . . Andree Bonaiuti and others . . pro desingno i'rillievo per eos facto in dicto operi de facto dicte ecclesie et cupola dicte ecclesie, in summa libr. liiii f. p.
 in GUASTI, 1887, 187

N.⁶ For the interpretation of the documents referring to the Florentine cathedral, see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I (Andrea di Cione), 4. Andrea di Cione formed part of the same commissions as Andrea Bonaiuti.

N.⁷ Quotes this document under 29 August 1366.

N.⁸ On comparing this document with the preceding one, it is quite clear that *Andreuczo* must be Andrea Bonaiuti.

- 1367,
May
31st FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DELL'OPERA DI S. MARIA DEL FIORE. DELIBERAZIONI, II, ff. 71-72
Operarii . . nominaverunt et elegerunt . . probos viros aurifices, pictores, magistros et cives florentinos . . et ab eis consilium petierunt, hostensis eisdem infrascriptis probis viris dictis desingnis; videlicet desingnum et relieum factum per . . Andream Bonaiuti pictorem and others
in GUASTI, 1887, 188
see CAVALLUCCI, I, 1881, 45-46
- 1370,
July
5th FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. DIPLOMATICO, S. MARIA NOVELLA DI FIRENZE,
July 5th, 1370
Anno . Millesimo Trecentesimo Septuagesimo . . Die Quinto mensis iulii . . Actum Florentie in capitulo fratrum ecclesie Sancte M. Novelle de Florentia, presentibus testibus ad hec vocatis habitis et rogatis . . Andrea Bonaiuti pictore dicti populi Sancte M. Novelle . . (concerning the will of a certain Iacobus olim Betti Ammannati)
see I. TAURISANO in IL ROSARIO, MEMORIE DOMENICANE, XXXIII, 1916, 222, 222 n. 2
- 1370,
May
18th FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. PRESTANZE, 192: QUARTIERE DI S. MARIA NOVELLA,
f. 117^r
De vexillo Leonis Albi . . Andreas pictor—flor. unum auri Mccclxx die XVIII Maii deliberatum fuit per officiales XVI monete dictum Andream gravari non debere pro dicta prestantia quia miserabilis et impotens ad solvendum, ut patet manu mei Pieri ser Stefani eorum notarium
- 1372,
September-
December
(N.⁹) FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. ARTE DEI MEDICI E SPECIALI, 46, f. 17^v
Consoli da dì primo di settembre 1372 a tutto dicembre MCCCLXXII
Andrea di Bonaiuto
see COLNAGHI, 1928, 14
- 1374 FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. ACCADEMIA DEL DISEGNO, 1 (CAPITOLI DELLA
COMPAGNIA DI SAN LUCA)
† *Andrea Buonaiuti p. S. M. Novella . . mccccl(xiiii)*
in GAYE, II, 1840, 37
in GUALANDI, VI, 1845, 177
see FREY, LOGGIA DEI LANZI, 1885, 313 n. 4
see COLNAGHI, 1928, 14 (N.¹⁰)
- 1374,
July
19th
N.¹¹ FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. S. MARIA NUOVA, 4426 (USCITA, 1370-1374), f. 254
A Andreuzzo (N.¹²) dipintore di XVIII di lugl(i)o per disegnare la tavola di Santo Lucha nello spedale degl'uomini fior. due d'oro

N.⁹ Marcucci incorrectly gives the year as 1374 in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, III, 1961, 83.

N.¹⁰ Gives the date as 1377.

N.¹¹ The three following documents were discovered by the late Werner Cohn (see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. III, 37 n. 10). Andrea Bonaiuti presumably never finished this panel for which he had already done the preparatory drawing. It is probably identical with the *tavola di San Luca*, for which Niccolò di Pietro Gerini was paid in 1383. This document was alluded to by Pini-Milanesi, I, 1876, No. 8 and by Milanesi in Vasari, I, 1878, 675 n. 1. Dr. Gino Corti kindly traced it for us:

1383, FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. S. MARIA NUOVA, 4436 (USCITA 1381-1383), f. 79^v
May 15th *Ala compagnia di Sancto Lucha, di decto, fiorini dieci, i quali danari demmo per loro a Nicholò di Piero dipintore, per dipi(n)tura dela tavola di Sancto Lucha; portò Nicholò decto di sopra f. X d'oro*

- 1374, August 12th FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. S. MARIA NUOVA, 4426 (USCITA, 1370-1374), f. 255
Paghamo di XII d'aghosto per disegnare la tavola della chappella di Santo Lucha dal lato delgl' uomini all' Andreuzzo dipintore fior. due d'oro
- 1374, October 2nd FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. S. MARIA NUOVA, 4426 (USCITA, 1370-1374), f. 255^v
A Andreuzzo dipintore di II ottobre per disegnatua della tavola di Sancto Lucha, per parte di pagamento, fior. uno d'oro
A Andreuzzo dipintore per lo disegno della tavola di Sancto Lucha fior. uno d'oro
- 1376, January 12th (by modern reckoning) FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. PRESTANZE, 265: QUARTIERE DI S. MARIA NOVELLA, f. 105^r
De vexillo Leonis Albi .. Andreas Bonaiuti pictor—fior. unum den. quinque .. mcccclxxv .. die duodecimo ianuarii
 see COLNAGHI, 1928, 14
- *1377, October 13th N.¹³ PISA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. OPERA DEL DUOMO, 102 (ENTRATA E USCITA 1377-1378), f. 68^r
Magister Andreas pictor de Florentia ad interrogationem supradicti domini operarii dixit et confessus fuit in veritate se habuisse et recepissee a supradicto domino operario dante et solvente ut supra, pro pictura storie beati Ranerii, pro residuo dicte storie, secundum formam unius apodisse pacti, scritte manu egregii militis domini Petri de Gambacurtis (blank) libras quingentas viginti novem et soldos decem .. Actum in domo opere Sancte Marie in qua supradictus magister Andreas habitabat, posita justa Camposanctum Pisarum, Ianino Tani magistro lapidum et Dominico Pasquini magistro lapidum testibus ad hec rogatis, dominice Incarnationis anno MCCCCLXXVIII, indictione prima, die tertio decimo octubris (Pisan reckoning)
 in FRANCESCO BONAINI, MEMORIE INEDITE INTORNO ALLA VITA E AI DIPINTI DI FRANCESCO TRAINI, PISA, 1846, 141
- 1377, November 2nd N.¹⁴ FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. NOTARILE ANTECOSIMIANO, APPENDICE, 83 (241) (REGISTRO DEI TESTAMENTI, S. GIOVANNI E S. MARIA NOVELLA 1330-1400), I, f. 25^v
 On top of page:
Ser Bonaffede ser Pieri (Aringhierii) notarius predictus Andreas olim Bonaiuti pictor populi S. Marie Novelle de Florentia fecit testamentum die secundo novembris 1377 et sibi heredem fecit Bartolomeum eius filium, et reliquid opere et muris civitatis Florentie libr. 2
 published by I. TAURISANO in IL ROSARIO, MEMORIE DOMENICANE, XXXIII, 1916, 223 n. 1 see MILANESI in VASARI, I, 1878, 553 n. 5

The reason why the panel remained unfinished for so long is unknown. There is an analogous case in the 14th century, in which the preparatory drawing and execution of a panel were done by different artists. Niccolò di Pietro Gerini received a payment in 1370 *per disegnare la tavola dell'altare di San Piero* (i.e. the San Pier Maggiore Altarpiece; see reconstruction in *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. III, PL. III). The panel was executed by Jacopo di Cione with his workshop and an Orcagnesque painter in 1371 (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. III, 37-38).

N.¹² That Andrea Bonaiuti is to be identified with *Andreuzzo* can be proved by the document of 28 August 1366, in which he is called by the same name (see also N.⁸).

N.¹³ Marcucci incorrectly gives the date as 3 October 1377 (see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, III, 1961, 83).

N.¹⁴ Marcucci incorrectly gives the date as 2 December 1377 (see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, III, 1961, 83).

1379, FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. PRESTANZE, 357: QUARTIERE DI S. MARIA NOVELLA,
 May f. 106^r
 16th
 N.¹⁵ *De vexillo Leonis Albi . . Andreas Bonaiuti pictor—flor. unum et den. quinque . .*
Mccclxxviii . . die xvi maii . . .

N.¹⁵ Andrea Bonaiuti must have died shortly after 16 May 1379 (when he appears in the *Prestanze* lists for the last time) and before June 2nd of the same year, when a delegation was sent to Genoa to ask Barnaba da Modena to complete the Ranieri cycle. The text of the latter document follows:

1379, PISA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. OPERA DEL DUOMO, 104 (ENTRATA E USCITA, 1379-
 2nd June 1380), [MCCCLXXX] f. 100^r.

Magister Johannes Pessini de luca habuit ut supra pro itura quando iuit Januam ad deferendum quandam ambaxiatam magistro Bernabo pictori ut veniret ad complendum storiā Sancti Rainerii —libras tres soldos decem denariorum pisanorum die secundo Junii

see FRANCESCO BONAINI, *Memorie inedite intorno alla vita e ai dipinti di Francesco Traini*, PISA, 1846, 141-142.

L. Marcucci gives the date of Andrea's death as 1377, probably on the basis of his will dated November 2nd (see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, III, 1961, 83). At that time, however, the last date in the *Prestanze* was not known.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

THE FRESCOES IN THE CHAPTER-HALL
OF S. MARIA NOVELLA

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

*THE FRESCOES IN THE CHAPTER-HALL
OF S. MARIA NOVELLA* (N.¹)

The painting of the chapter-hall (PLS. I et seq.) and adjoining Corpus Domini Chapel in the monastery of S. Maria Novella was realized through an endowment left by Buonamico or Mico di Lapo Guidalotti. Mico, a successful Florentine merchant, was a friend of the prior Fra Jacopo Passavanti (d. 1357) and left instructions for the project in his testament of 2 August 1355 (N.²). But it was only after his death in September of the same year (N.³) and under the administration of a later prior, Fra Zenobius Guasconi, that the commission was given to Andrea Bonaiuti, who agreed to carry out the frescoes between 1 January 1366 and 31 December 1367.

The Dominicans were the first to ideate pictorial schemes illustrating a unified theological programme. The earliest instance is the Strozzi Chapel of S. Maria Novella. It was during the second half of the Trecento, that art became the *ancilla theologiae in the service of learned allegory, illustrating intellectual concepts rather than visual themes* (N.⁴). Several years after the completion of the Strozzi Chapel, the Dominicans wanted to give pictorial form to another grandiose ideological programme in their chapter-hall (N.⁵). Here the frescoes are based on a subtler and more homogeneous plan. It is likely that Fra Jacopo Passavanti, who was named one of the executors in Mico de' Guidalotti's will, played an essential part in working out the programme (N.⁶). It is difficult to say more than this, since a plan in writing may never have been submitted or has not been preserved. Millard Meiss has suggested most convincingly that the original idea, to which Passavanti certainly contributed extensively, was worked out

N.¹ This is the earliest surviving example of a chapter-hall in Florence in which the painted decoration covers the whole interior. The chapter-hall of S. Spirito may have been earlier in date, but its fresco decoration which probably consisted of one large Crucifixion, is known only from Vasari's description (Milanesi ed., I, 1878, 549; *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. III, 75 n. 1). There are later chapter-halls painted by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and his workshop, in S. Felicita in Florence (Crucifixion, signed and dated 1388), in S. Francesco in Pisa (signed and dated 1392 on the ceiling), and in S. Francesco in Prato (see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, volume in preparation).

N.² See under Documents, p. 76. J. Wood Brown (1902, 142) suggests a connection between the Black Death and Guidalotti's donation, which Millard Meiss (1951, 79, 94) agrees with, pointing out that the donor had lost his first wife Masa during the plague. Orlandi gives the date of her death as 4 July 1348 (see Orlandi, I, 1955, 540; cf. also for these facts the History on pp. 83-84).

N.³ See the inscription on the tombstone, quoted on p. 76; see also Orlandi, I, 1955, 542, and for facts concerning Mico's life, 539 et seq.

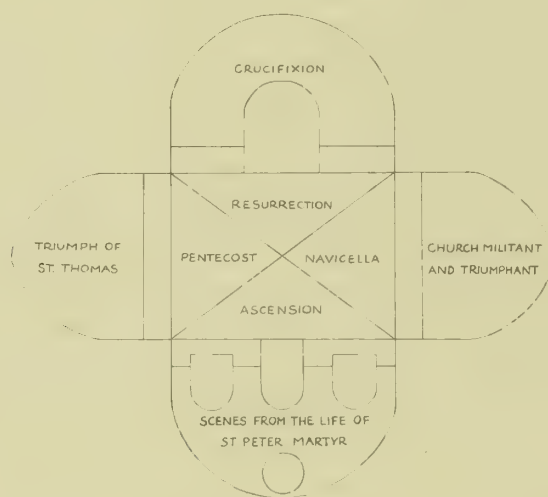
N.⁴ See Oertel, *Early Italian Painting to 1400*, London, 1968, 310-311.

N.⁵ In Siena a unified programme had already been realized in a secular setting by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and his commissioners in 1338-1340 for the Sala de' Nove or della Pace in the Palazzo Pubblico, the council room of the chief magistrates of the city. These frescoes can be interpreted as the secular counterpart to the Church Militant and Triumphant by Andrea Bonaiuti (for the interpretation of the frescoes in Siena, see N. Rubinstein in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXI, 1958, 179 et seq.).

N.⁶ Orlandi also believes that the programme was worked out by Guidalotti and Passavanti together (see Orlandi, I, 1955, 461). He is certainly correct in thinking that Fra Zenobius Guasconi influenced the plan, as well as his successor, Fra Giovanni di Giachinotto Corbinelli (d. 1381), who became Prior at the beginning of 1366 (see Orlandi, *S. Maria Novella e i suoi chiostri monumentali*, Il Rosario, Firenze 1956, 44; see also Orlandi, II, 1955, 604). These influences, however, would not have modified the programme substantially, as it was probably already established when Guasconi made the contract with Andrea Bonaiuti at the end of December 1365.

in the *studium generale* of S. Maria Novella (N.⁷). Any conjecture beyond this must inevitably remain hypothetical. In fact, specific plans relating to pictorial schemes in the Trecento have rarely survived (N.⁸).

In his will, Mico de' Guidalotti left funds for the *Cappella Corporis D. N. Ih. Xti* and the *Capitulum*. The two basic themes of the decoration extend to both, thereby creating a unity between chapel and chapter-hall. The frescoes on the north wall of the Corpus Domini Chapel, must have referred to the mystery of Corpus Domini (N.⁹) and may still exist beneath the later decoration of 1592. The subject represented was probably the Last Supper which would have formed a logical link with the Way to Calvary, Crucifixion and Descent into Limbo on the North wall of the chapter-hall (N.¹⁰), and the Resurrection and Ascension in the vault (PLS. III, VIII, IX). The Dominicans attached particular importance to the cult of Corpus Domini, the liturgy of which had been largely composed by St. Thomas Aquinas, and aimed at propagating it. There is also allusion to this theme in the Lamb bearing the Cross on the keystone of the vault (photo. Alinari, 52121).



The principal theme of the chapter-hall is the glorification of the Dominican order. The Pentecost scene in the vault forms a unity with the underlying Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas, since St. Thomas is represented as the personification of theological learning, in-

N.⁷ See Meiss (1951, 102). If the programme was worked out in the *studium generale*, it would constitute a parallel to the project for the building of the cathedral, for which various commissions submitted suggestions. Vasari (1st ed., I, 1550, 181) already attributed the plan to the prior of S. Maria Novella thereby certainly intending Fra Jacopo Passavanti, whose name subsequently became associated with the entire programme. He is first mentioned specifically by Mecatti (1737, 10) and afterwards by Marchese (1845, 145), Wood Brown (1902, 150), Taurisano (1916, 227-228) and Orlandi (I, 1955, 461), to quote only the most important (for exact titles of publications referred to here and later, see Bibliography). Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that Passavanti died in 1357, two years after the will was written and nine years before the work was begun.

N.⁸ Cf. Cohn in *Florentiner Mitteilungen*, VIII, 1958, 65, 73, 73 n. 29.

N.⁹ Cf. *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. V, 89-90, 89 n. 13.

N.¹⁰ See also Meiss, 1951, 94, 94 n. 2. The altarpiece of this chapel painted by the Assistant of Daddi in 1344, is also related iconographically to the feast of Corpus Domini (*Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. V, 89-90). The lower rectangular part of the original window of the Corpus Domini Chapel, which was bricked in after the middle of the 16th century, can still be discerned in the outside wall. After the flood of 1966 the painting by Alessandro Allori was removed, and the outline of the window became visible also from inside the chapel (PL. III). The outline of the upper part can no longer be established, as it was destroyed when the oval window was installed. One must bear in mind that the altar was raised by three steps when the chapel was redecorated, so that originally there would have been enough room for a fresco beneath the gothic window.

spired by the Holy Spirit and manifested in Dominican scholasticism (PLS. I¹, VI). The Triumph of St. Thomas constitutes a pendant to the scene on the opposite wall representing an allegory of the Dominican order. Here the Dominicans are presented as the bulwark of Church authority and defenders of the faith; and the entire composition is centred around the order's founder, St. Dominic. This fresco is also to be viewed in conjunction with the Navicella in the vault above, since the ship was the traditional symbol of the Church. On the entrance wall, in contrast with the frescoes on the West and East walls, are highly realistic scenes of the life and martyrdom of the third great Dominican saint, St. Peter Martyr.

The correlation of the Triumph of St. Thomas and the Church Militant and Triumphant is emphasized externally by the fact that they are placed opposite each other and have similar framing borders terminating in pointed arches, whereas those of the two other walls are rounded (PLS. I¹, II, III, IV; N.¹¹).

Today, as one enters the former chapter-hall, one is struck by the cold sobriety of the room. The frescoes give the impression of being lost in the surrounding. The original effect must have been very different when the feast of Corpus Domini was celebrated or the chapter assembled. Then there would not have been a feeling of void and the frescoes would have reacquired their unity. The complex is held together by the strong upward movement of the vault ribs. Accompanying the ribs on either side are wide ornamental bands which enclose quatrefoils at regular intervals. These bands rise from the stocky pilasters set into each corner of the room. The pilasters have three facets and from these spring the vault ribs at the centre, while the ornamental bands on either side rise to branch off as frames for each of the giant lunettes as well as each section of the vault. Where the borders divide, the quatrefoils take an elongated form (PLS. I, II; N.¹²). Considering the artist's predilection for rich ornament, it is not surprising that the borders framing the frescoes should be so elaborate. The quatrefoils contain half-length figures of prophets which often project from their frames (PLS. I, II, II²⁵). The finely wrought ornament, in which one motif flows into the next, confers a lightness and delicacy to the entire scheme contributing much to the chapel's peculiar charm. The emphasis on ornament sometimes becomes an end in itself as, for instance, in the choir-stalls in the Apotheosis fresco (PL. I²¹), where one's attention is distracted from the principal figures.

The museum-like atmosphere of the hall is certainly largely responsible for the fact that in the modern literature (with a few exceptions) the quality of the frescoes has rarely been fully appreciated. The study of these frescoes has also been impeded by the complexity of the iconography and, above all, by the extensive and arbitrary restoration dating from the eighteenth century. It has only been possible to appreciate their beauty and importance since the recent cleaning by Sig. Dino Dini. One can only hope that the entrance wall and the adjoining vault compartment containing the Ascension will also be restored soon and the remains of the flood damage of 1966 removed.

The decoration of the chapter-hall was to have been completed within the very short period of two years. Whether this time limit was kept to is not known; but the homogeneity of the frescoes makes it likely that it was not greatly exceeded (N.¹³). As in the Strozzi Chapel of S. Maria Novella, the execution of the frescoes must have begun with the vault sections (N.¹⁴). Each of the four compartments is edged with a narrow ochre-coloured band of simple

N.¹¹ The present arch to the Corpus Domini Chapel, which dates from 1592, cuts into the figures and horses in the Crucifixion scene in a way that can hardly have been intended originally (PLS. III, III¹; see also p. 46).

N.¹² See also Isermeyer, 1937, 65.

N.¹³ Ambrogio Lorenzetti also had to paint his murals in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena within two years. For a *terminus post quem* for the completion of the Church Militant and Triumphant, see the description of the group in front of the cathedral (p. 41; PL. II¹).

N.¹⁴ See *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. IV, 23.

design which recurs in the Apotheosis of St. Thomas (PL. I¹; N.¹⁵). It is probable, therefore, that this was the first fresco to be painted after the completion of the vault. The emphasis on the framing arch and the two steps leading to the first row of seated figures make this scene appear more remote (PL. I); but, the impression of the ground level being higher here than in the other frescoes is merely an optical illusion. The relatively limited share of workshop collaboration in this fresco also suggests that it was painted first. It therefore provides us with the surest point of reference for our knowledge of the artist's style. Consequently, the Triumph of St. Thomas will be discussed first, then the other walls in order of execution (Church Militant and Triumphant; Crucifixion; Scenes from the life of St. Peter Martyr) and finally, as already stated, the vault.

All the frescoes, including the vault compartments, have a unity of conception that enables us to presume that they were all designed and drawn by Andrea Bonaiuti. The compositions are characterized by their planimetric arrangement, in which all the figures are placed in rows or grouped one above the other without losing their plasticity or spatial definition. In this respect, the artist still reveals his strong adherence to the tradition of Andrea di Cione and his circle. The frescoes have a stylistic uniformity which suggests that careful underdrawings were made (N.¹⁶). See for instance, the sketches visible in the figure of Arius and in the lower area of St. Thomas's robes (PL. I⁷). The choice of colours was also decided by Andrea, as can be seen from one of the inscribed notes uncovered by Sig. Dino Dini in the Crucifixion. It reads *bifo*, and is to be found on the back of the third soldier in the top row, to the right of the good thief (PL. III⁸; N.¹⁷). The intervention of the workshop is recognizable where the execution is inferior in quality. Only occasionally is a distinct hand discernible as, for instance, in the choir of angels in the Majestas Domini, in the lower section of the Pentecost, and in the Descent into Limbo (PLS. II²⁹, II³¹, VI, III¹⁷).

Technically it is certain that the vault frescoes were the first to be executed, but this is also evident from their closer adherence to tradition. They derive from earlier models: the upper part of the Pentecost is taken from Taddeo Gaddi (PL. VI²; N.¹⁸); the Navicella from Giotto and Andrea di Cione (PL. VII; N.¹⁹). This fact and the larger proportion of workshop assistance explain why in these areas the style varies from the other frescoes. The difference is especially noticeable in the Resurrection, which is strongly volumetric, probably under the influence of Pietro Lorenzetti, whose art is clearly reflected here (PL. VIII; N.²⁰). Of the Florentine artists of his day, Andrea Bonaiuti seems to have been the most receptive to Sienese influence; in this respect he may be compared to Bernardo Daddi in the first half of the fourteenth century. The Pentecost also reveals considerable collaboration on the part of assistants. Andrea's hand is most evident in the Ascension, which is also the most harmonious of the four scenes in the vault; but its full quality can only emerge once the restoration of the vault is completed (PL. IX).

N.¹⁵ A similar border runs along the upper edge of the entrance wall, perhaps in order to give greater unity to the three scenes contained in the arch; it may also have extended down to the middle field, where the frescoes are now destroyed, but unlike the border in the Triumph it does not continue down the sides or along the lower edge (PL. IV).

N.¹⁶ This also applies to the frescoes by Nardo di Cione and his assistants in the Strozzi Chapel of S. Maria Novella, where a uniform Nardesque style is maintained throughout, with the exception of the vault and intrados of the arch which were painted by Giovanni del Biondo and his assistants (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. II, PLS. IX^a et seq. and Vol. IV, PLS. I et seq.).

N.¹⁷ For the term *bifo*, see Cennino Cennini, *Trattato della pittura*, ed. by Giuseppe Tambroni, Roma, 1821, 127, 127 n. 1; also Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, Phaidon, London, I, 1967, 363 n. 49.

N.¹⁸ See p. 58.

N.¹⁹ See p. 62.

N.²⁰ See foreword to Resurrection, p. 68.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

FLORENCE

S. MARIA NOVELLA, Chiostro Verde

CAPITOLO OR CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI (N.¹)

FRESCO: *West wall*, Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas (PL. I). The saint enthroned (PL. I²; N.²); *above the throne*, the three theological virtues (PL. I³; centre, Charity, PL. I⁴; left, Faith, with cross and shield, PL. I⁵; right, Hope, PL. I⁶); *flanking the throne*, the four cardinal virtues (Temperance, N.³; Prudence, with an open and closed book, PL. I⁵; Justice, with crown and sword; Fortitude, PL. I⁶); *at the saint's feet*, the heretics (PL. I⁷), Averroes (centre), Sabellius (left), Arius (right); *seated alongside of St. Thomas*, five figures of the Old Testament and five authors of the New Testament (left, Job, David, St. Paul, St. Mark, St. John the Evangelist, PLS. I⁹, I¹⁰; right, St. Matthew, St. Luke, Moses, Isaiah, Solomon, PLS. I¹², I¹³; N.⁴); *below, seated in choir stalls, left*; the seven higher spiritual sciences: two branches of Jurisprudence (PL. I¹⁴), civil law, with sword and globe inscribed *ASIA AFRICA EUROPA*, and canon law, holding a model of a church; *Prisca Theologia* (holding a medallion illustrating a phase of the creation of the world, N.⁵); the four theological disciplines (PLS. I¹⁵, I¹⁶), the first with a nimbus

N.¹ In 1566/67 the Spanish colony, whose importance in Florence had increased greatly with the marriage of Cosimo I to Eleonor of Toledo, petitioned for the right to take over the chapter-hall and Corpus Domini Chapel for their services. This favour was granted and the Corpus Domini Chapel was rededicated to St. James of Compostella. Thereafter the chapter-hall became commonly known as the Spanish Chapel.

N.² The text of St. Thomas's book is taken from Wisdom, VII, 7-8 (see *Missale Romanum, In Die VII. Martii. S. Thomas de Aquino. Lectio Libri Sapientiae*).

N.³ Her attributes are a branch and a fish, the latter a symbol of lenten food. Temperance is also represented with a branch in the medallion on the ceiling of the Strozzi Chapel (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. IV, PL. I³).

N.⁴ The names of the figures are inscribed beneath them. The lines on Moses' tablets are taken from Ex., XX, 3-5; those of Solomon's book from Prov., I, 1-2. Solomon is the only figure without a halo (cf. p. 80 n. 19), and without the S (Sanctus) in the inscription. His Canticles were reputedly commented upon by St. Thomas Aquinas.

N.⁵ The medallion represents the Creation of the Sea (Gen., I, 9-10). God the Father with two faces is also found in the miniatures illustrating the Creation in the Hamilton Bible, dating from the mid-14th cent., in the printroom in Berlin-Dahlem (Ms. 78 E 3, f. 4r) and in the Bible of 1362 in the Biblioteca Vaticana (Cod. vat. lat. 3550). Both bibles are of Neapolitan origin (published by Erbach von Fürstenau in *L'Arte*, VIII, 1905, 6, 7; see also A. Heimann in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-39, 42 et seq.).

It is interesting to note that the figure of Theology (inscribed as such) on the tomb of Sixtus IV by Antonio Pollaiuolo in St. Peter's, Rome, is accompanied by an angel holding a book open at the words: *In principio creavit deus caelum et terram* etc. (photo. Alinari, 26446).

Vasari (1550) gives no particular interpretation of this figure, as the seven are grouped together as the *sette scienze Theologiche*. Biliotti (1586) interprets this figure as *theologia pratica*, and identifies the historical figure below as Peter Lombard. This is repeated by Fineschi (1787), Rosini (1840) and Ruskin (1876). Mecatti (1737) and after him Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1864) called this figure speculative theology with Peter Lombard below. Hettner (1879) suggested the alternative of an allegory of worship (*oratio*) with St. John Damascene or St. Basil below. Schlosser (1896) proposed instead Physic and Hippocrates, as the personification of *scientia naturalis*.

I am most grateful to Dr. P. Meller for having suggested the following explanation. The allegorical figure probably represents *Prisca Theologia* (the parallels in thought between the ancient pagan philosophers and Christian doctrine led to the belief that were also inspired to some extent by divine revelation). Augustine (Migne, *P. L.*, VII, 236; III, 124 etc.), among others, noted the similarities between Plato's description of the creation of the world in the *Timaeus* and that in the Bible (*Timaeus* was known in Chalcidius' translation throughout the Middle Ages. For a short summary of the interpretations of Plato's *Timaeus*, see P. Shorey, *Platonism, Ancient and Modern*, Berkeley, California, 1938, 104 et seq.). St. Thomas Aquinas also noted

of angels (N.⁶), the second holding a triangle, symbol of the Trinity (N.⁷), the third with a raised gloved hand (N.⁸), the fourth a warrior figure with bow and arrow, (N.⁹); *in the gables above*, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (N.¹⁰; from left to right, *donum timoris dei*, *donum consilii*, *donum*

similarities between the Platonic and Biblical texts (*S. th.*, I, 66, q. I, a. 5; and 74, q. 3; see also R. J. Henle, *Saint Thomas and Platonism*, The Hague, 1956). The earliest illustrations of the creation based on Plato's *Timaeus* appear in a manuscript in Naples dating from the 15th century (Biblioteca dei Gerolomini, No. 219, f. 1; published by H. J. Hermann in *Austrian Jahrbuch*, XIX, 1898, 192) and in an Augustinian Codex (*Homilae*) at Valencia (Biblioteca Universitaria, No. 730; reprod. in Tammara De Marinis, *La Biblioteca Napoletana dei Re d'Aragona*, Milano, III, 1947, pl. 26).

N.⁶ Sig. Dino Dini, the restorer of the frescoes, believes the glory of angels to be complete, even though it is possible to distinguish only four orders of the angelic hierarchy. The Thrones, Principalities and Virtues are missing.

N.⁷ The triangle is now barely visible, since the removal of the repaint, compare photo. Brogi 6693 with PL. I¹⁵. The figure of Theology on the tomb of Sixtus IV by Antonio Pollaiuolo in St. Peter's, Rome, is also represented with the Trinity, symbolized by three heads (photo. Alinari, 26446).

N.⁸ The gloved hand implies the presence of a falcon (compare the man holding a falcon on his gloved hand in the Church Militant and Triumphant, PL. II²⁰). Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1st English ed., I, 1864, 373 n. 1) also believed the figure to be holding a falcon *of which only the claw remains*. Ruskin (1876, 135) identified the object as a chalice, although he was unable to explain the glove. Gotti (1887, 32) did not commit himself on the grounds that *il guasto è tale, che male oggi si può dire che cosa veramente tenesse*. Schlosser (1896) also identified it as a falcon.

N.⁹ The bow and arrow are attributes of Theology; see also *THEOLOGIA* on the tomb of Sixtus IV in St. Peter's, Rome (cf. N.⁷; for the iconography of this figure, see L. D. Ettlinger in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVI, 1953, 262–264).

Originally all the figures in this part of the fresco had inscriptions. Traces are still visible beside some of them (PL. I¹⁴). The inscriptions on the left may already have been lost by the 16th century, unlike those of the Liberal Arts, of which Vasari makes specific mention (1568). In fact, not only do the interpretations given by Vasari and Biliotti (1586) differ, but their generalization may point to an oral tradition.

Although Vasari (1550) and Borghini (1584) described these female allegories as the seven theological disciplines, Baldinucci (1686) refers to them as the seven virtues. From Biliotti (1586) onwards, the first two figures have usually been described as roman and canon law, the next two as *teologia pratica* and *teologia speculativa* (cf. N.⁵), and the last three as Faith, Hope and Charity (see Mecatti, 1737; Fineschi, 1787; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1864; Förster, 1870); Hettner, 1879, differs only in suggesting *oratio* and *devotio* for the two theological disciplines. Schlosser (1896) interpreted them as worldly and canon law, Physic and four personifications of Holy Scripture subdivided into History, Dogmatics, Ethics and Mysticism (also Venturi, 1907). Rosini (1840), Ruskin (1876), Gotti (1887), Berthier (1897), Baciocchi (1900), Brown (1902), Gillet (1912) and Orlandi (1956) all interpreted the last five figures as the five disciplines of theology, agreeing only on the identification of the last figure as polemical theology.

N.¹⁰ These can be identified by their gestures and attributes: the first three are self-explanatory; the mother with a naked child symbolizes *donum intellectus*, but this iconography remains to be explained; *donum scientiae*, a female figure with a glory on her breast (for the reference to light, see *S. th.*, II, 2, q. 49, a. 2, r. 2: *Lumen supernaturale intellectus, id est intellectus qui ponitur donum Spiritus Sancti, est quaedam acuta inspectio divinorum*. Although *donum intellectus* is referred to, it is quite common to find different figures with the same attributes in medieval art, see, for instance, the analogies between *Prudentia* and *Sapientia* in *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. VIII, 18 n. 2); *donum sapientia*, with two heads, which also symbolize prudence; *donum fortitudinis*, dressed in armour.

Schlosser (1896) was the first to suggest that these medallions represent the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. This interpretation is supported by the *De naturis rerum* of Alexander Neckam (d. 1217) in which the seven gifts are related to the seven planets as is the case in this fresco (Wright ed., London, 1863, I, c. 7). According to Augustine (*De doctrina christiana*, II, 7) the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are the seven steps towards attaining Christian wisdom; a theme which is clearly present in the iconography of this fresco.

Orlandi (1956) gives a different order based on the theological sequence of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, but this reading, like the one proposed by Bargellini and quoted by Orlandi, cannot be correct.

The small lozenges in the frieze beneath the seven medallions must have contained the initial letter of each gift, similar to those in the squares beneath the planets. Unfortunately, no traces of the letters survive. The lozenges, like the squares beneath the planets, form the centre of the rectangular bands dividing the thrones from the gables, which are decorated with geometrical shapes and tendrils.

pietatis, donum intellectus, donum scientiae, donum sapientiae, donum fortitudinis); seated at the foot of the choir stalls, great men personifying these sciences (N.¹¹): the Emperor Justinian; Pope Clement V, or Innocent IV; Plato (N.¹²); St. Jerome (who compiled the Vulgate); Dionysius the Areopagite, St. John Damascene; St. Augustine (the last four with haloes); below, seated in choir stalls, right; the seven Liberal Arts (N.¹³): from right to left, the Trivium (PL. I¹⁹): Grammar, with three pupils and the door to knowledge; Rhetoric, holding a scroll (N.¹⁴); Dialectic, with a branch and scorpion; the Quadrivium (PLS. I²¹, I¹⁶): Music, with a

N.¹¹ The few remaining letters of the original inscriptions (see PLS. I¹⁴–I¹⁶) are so restored that they cannot be taken into account.

All scholars agree upon the identification of Justinian; the pope is usually identified as Clement V (with the exception of Kraus, 1908: Clement VI; Schlosser, 1896, and Venturi, 1907: Innocent IV; Berthier, 1897: Gregory IX as a third alternative); Plato (see N.¹²) is usually interpreted as Peter Lombard (except for Hettner, 1879: St. John Damascene or St. Basil; Schlosser, 1896, and Venturi, 1907: Hippocrates); the two following figures have been alternately identified as Boethius and Dionysius the Areopagite (Hettner, Schlosser and Venturi give the former as St. Jerome, whereas Förster (1870) suggests St. Bonaventura); the last two are generally believed to be SS. John Damascene and Augustine. Berthier (1897) was the only one to suggest that the last four figures might be the four church-fathers.

N.¹² Hitherto this figure has usually been identified as Peter Lombard or Hippocrates (cf. N.¹¹), as the allegorical figure above was thought to be Medicine. Dr. P. Meller is the first to have suggested the name of Plato. He believes that the book in the philosopher's hand, as in Raphael's School of Athens, is Timaeus, because of the connection with the creation of the world in the medallion held by *Prisca Theologia*. This idea is supported by the presence of Aristotle in the corresponding position below the Liberal Arts (PL. I¹⁹). The tradition for the portrayal of Plato with a short beard and a mantle covering his head originates in antiquity and continues through the Middle Ages to the 16th century (see the Dioskurides-Mss., e.g. *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Neue Folge, Leipzig, I, 1923, pl. VI, 1; panel with the Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas in S. Caterina, Pisa; the Triumph of St. Thomas by Benozzo Gozzoli, Paris, Louvre, reprod. in Elena Contaldi, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, Milano, 1928, 239). On Nicola Pisano's pulpit in Siena Cathedral, Plato is portrayed with a diadem, a symbol of his prophetic nature. Plato and Plutarch are portrayed together with the Sibyls and the ancestors of Christ in the fourteenth century decoration of the narthex of the church of the Virgin Ljeviška in Prizren, Yugoslavia (see V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Torino, 1967, 388–389). Even more important iconographically is a miniature of 1354 by Niccolò di Giacomo (Madrid, National Library, Ms. D. 1. 2) in which St. Augustine is flanked by saints and prophets on the one side and Aristotle, Plato, Socrates and Seneca on the other (see Coletti in *L'Arte*, XXXVII, 1934, 101 et seq., fig. 2).

N.¹³ As all the figures are focussed on the centre of the fresco, the order of the Liberal Arts (Trivium, Quadrivium) should be read from right to left. The individual figures originally had their names inscribed next to them (see Vasari, *Vite*, 2nd ed. 1568, 179, Milanese ed., I, 1878, 581: *le sette scienze con i loro nomi*). Some traces are still visible beside the heads of Arithmetic, Geometry and Rhetoric *RETTO* . . (see photo. Alinari, 52118). All the Arts are clearly identifiable by their gestures and attributes, which correspond to those of the Liberal Arts from the workshop of Andrea Pisano on the campanile (east side, top row). The only exception is the figure of Dialectic with a scorpion; on the campanile she is represented with a pair of shears. Her usual attribute is a serpent as on Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in Pisa cathedral and the fountain by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano in Perugia (cf. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'Art Profane au Moyen âge et à la Renaissance*, La Haye, I, 1932, figs. 236, 239). A precedent for the scorpion and the flower as Dialectic's attributes is found in Alanus de Insulis (d. 1202; see *Anticlaudianus*, III, 1; see also L. H. Heydenreich in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, III, 1954, 1390, 1398). The same attribute (the scorpion), which is rare in Italian art, also appears with the figure of Dialectic in the fresco of the Triumph of St. Augustine in S. Francesco, Cappella Bracciolini, at Pistoia (published by G. Brunetti in *Rivista d'Arte*, XVII, 1935, 229); in Botticelli's fresco of 1486 from the Villa Lemmi near Florence (now in the Louvre, No. 1298; reprod. in Carlo Gamba, *Botticelli*, Milano, 1936, pl. 106); and on the tomb of Sixtus IV by Antonio Pollaiuolo dated 1493 in St. Peter's (reprod. in Sergio Ortolani, *Il Pollaiuolo*, Milano, 1948, pl. 159). E. Mâle (*L'Art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, Paris, 5th ed., 1923, 83) refers to Dialectic with a scorpion on the *portail vieux* of Chartres. In the right tympanum of the west façade of the same cathedral Dialectic is accompanied by a dragon-like creature with a dog's head (reprod. in Et. Houvet, *Cathédrale de Chartres, Portail occidental ou Royal, Chartres*, c. 1920, pls. 61–72).

N.¹⁴ The text of the scroll reads *MULCEO DUM LOQUOR VARIOS INDUTA COLORES*. According to Dr. Silvana Seidel this text is quite correct, contrary to the opinion expressed by D'Ancona in *L'Arte*, V, 1902, 283.

portable organ; Astronomy, holding an armillary sphere; Geometry, with set square and compasses (barely visible); Arithmetic, with a tablet; *in the gables above*, the seven planets (N.¹⁵; the Moon, with a fountain; Venus, with a mirror; Mercury, writing at a desk; Jupiter, as a monk holding a chalice; Saturn, with sickle and spade; Mars, as a warrior; the Sun, as a king); *seated at the foot of the choir stalls*, historical personalities associated with the Liberal Arts (N.¹⁶): Donatus, writing; Cicero, teaching; Aristotle, with a book; Tubalcain, as a smith (N.¹⁷); King Ptolemy, looking upwards; Euclid; Pythagoras (N.¹⁸).

For documents, state, history and bibliography, see pp. 76–95.

N.¹⁵ The initial letter of each name (in white) can still be distinguished in the small squares beneath the medallions; only the S of the first square is missing (PL. I⁶).

The iconography of these figures corresponds to that of the campanile reliefs (west side, top row) from the workshop of Andrea Pisano, with the exception of Saturn and Venus. Parallels for the latter are to be found in the representations of the same planets in the monochrome border of the Eremitani Chapel in Padua, by Guariento (cf. Coletti, III, 1947, 107; Toesca, 1951, 717). Schlosser (*Austrian Jahrbuch*, XVII, 1896, 45, 74) mistook Sun for Jupiter, and Orlandi (*S. Maria Novella e i suoi chiostrì monumentali*, Firenze, 1956) Sun for Saturn. The interpretations given here are confirmed by the iconographical analogies cited above. For Sun, Saturn and Jupiter, and for the planets in general, see Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, New York, 1953, 160, 160 n. 26, n. 27, 162, 162 n. 29.

N.¹⁶ These figures were also certainly accompanied by inscriptions giving their names (compare the corresponding inscriptions at the feet of the Old and New Testament figures). Traces of a few letters are still visible beneath some of the figures (photo. Alinari, 52118), although they can have no significance owing to subsequent repaintings. Our identifications of the figures are supported by contemporary manuscripts, in which the representatives of the Liberal Arts are named; see Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panegyricus by Convevole da Prato (B. R. 38, formerly II. I. 27, ff. 32^v–34^r), Florentine, mid-14th century; and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, decretals of 1354 (Ms. B. 42 inf., f. 1), Niccolò di Giacomo (reprod. in D'Ancona, *Miniature Italienne*, 1925, pl. XXVIII). There have been fewer differences of opinion as to the identification of these figures. Our interpretations coincide with those of Biliotti (1586), which were generally accepted. For alternative opinions, see Vasari (1st ed., 1550) and Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1864), who suggested Abraham instead of Pythagoras, Atlas instead of Ptolemy, and Zeno instead of Aristotle (the last was also preferred by Berthier, 1897); Gotti (1887) and Baciocchi (1900) identify Ptolemy as Zoroaster, an alternative already proposed by Rosini (1840); Vasari identified the figure below Grammar as Donatus (1550), Biliotti (1586) as Donatus or Priscian; also in favour of the latter are Mecatti (1737), Fineschi (1787), Rosini (1840), Förster (1870), Ruskin (1876), Schlosser (1896), D'Ancona (1902), Baciocchi (1900), Venturi (1907).

N.¹⁷ Tubalcain is portrayed at an anvil with two hammers, symbolizing two tones (see A. P. de Mirimonde in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXII, 1968, 298).

N.¹⁸ For the iconography of the Liberal Arts and the figures associated with them in general, see D'Ancona in *L'Arte*, V, 1902, 137 et seq., 211 et seq., 269 et seq.; for the Triumph of St. Thomas in particular, 282–284. A thorough study on the same theme, with special reference to Aristotle, is to be found in Wolfgang Stammer's article *Der Mensch und die Künste*, *Festschrift für Heinrich Lützel*, Düsseldorf, 1962, 196 et seq. See foreword (pp. 27–31) for further information on the fresco of the Triumph of St. Thomas.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

TRIUMPH OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS (N.¹)

As for the fresco on the opposite wall, we shall attempt to explain the content of the Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas by analysing the composition. The scene is built up around the figure of St. Thomas Aquinas, the author of the *Summa Theologica*, which aimed at being the summary of Christian doctrine. The saint holds the book of Wisdom open at the words . . . *venit in me spiritus sapientiae* . . . which finds its pictorial equivalent in the fresco. This idea is emphasized by the allegory of *Sapientia* (PLS. I², I⁴; N.²) represented in the gable of the throne, which, in St. Thomas's words, *est donum Spiritus Sancti* (S. th., II, 2; q. 45, a. 1; N.³). St. Thomas's teaching receives its inspiration from two sources: the Holy Spirit and the divine word (*scientia infusa*). The divine inspiration proceeds from the figure of Christ who, leaning forward with outstretched arms, crowns the fresco at the centre of the ornamental border. This also explains the presence of the Pentecost scene in the vault section above. The inspiration of the Holy Spirit is also transmitted by the three theological virtues (*virtutes infusae*) hovering above the throne (N.⁴). Beneath them are the four cardinal virtues (*virtutes acquisitae*), which Hugh of St. Victor (1096—1141) numbers among the gifts of God (N.⁵). Their supernatural nature is emphasized by their hexagonal haloes, some of which are no longer visible, and they are represented as hovering winged figures. Charity as *Amor Dei*, placed at the top

N.¹ The first fundamental interpretation of this fresco was given by Schlosser (in *Austrian Jahrbuch*, XVII, 1896, 44 et seq.). A year later, J.-J. Berthier independently reached similar conclusions in his book *Le Triomphe de Saint Thomas*, Fribourg, 1897. But Schlosser is the only one to have convincingly interpreted the figures in the gables above the higher sciences as the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Also important for an analysis of this fresco is the essay by Hettner (in *Italienische Studien*, 1879), and, for specific problems, the excellent dissertation by Maria von Thadden, *Die Ikonographie der Caritas in der Kunst des Mittelalters* (Inaugural-Dissertation, Bonn, 1951). Padre Stefano Orlandi, the Dominican scholar who died recently, largely agreed with Schlosser's interpretations (see *S. Maria Novella e i suoi chiostri monumentali*, Il Rosario, Firenze, 1955 and 1966, between pp. 57 and 58). For further details, see the notes to the description of this fresco (pp. 22–25).

N.² In his *Liber de Paradiso*, St. Ambrose writes of *Sapientia Sicut ergo fons vitae est Sapientia, fons gratiae spiritualis: ita fons virtutum est caeterarum, quae nos ad aeternae cursum dirigunt vitae* (Migne, P. L., XIV, 275 et seq.). The *igniculus sapientiae* is connected with the *via perfectiva*, the third of the three ways leading to *Caritas* (Bonaventura, *De triplice via*; ed. Quaracchi, VIII, 1898). *Sapientia Dei* is, therefore, appropriately placed in the gable of St. Thomas's throne, with *Caritas* as *Amor Dei* above her. She is portrayed with three large flames on her head and hands. *Sapientia* appears with flames for the first time in Nicola Pisano's pulpit in Siena Cathedral (see R. Freyhan in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XI, 1948, 74, 74 n. 4; fig. 14a).

For the representation of *Sapientia* with book and mirror, the attributes of Prudence, see *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. VII, 18 n. 2.

N.³ This theme probably explains the unusual representation of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit in the gables of the choir-stalls on the left, above the higher sciences. The *donum sapientiae* appears here with an attribute of Prudence, a head with two faces. Significantly, the flying virtue above the *donum sapientiae* is Prudence.

N.⁴ As Hettner (1879, 112) points out, the three Theological virtues are described in the *Summa Theologica* as the *Inbegriff und das Wesen aller heiligen Wissenschaft; sie heißen nur darum die theologischen Tugenden, weil sie uns einzig durch die göttliche Offenbarung zu Theil geworden sind* (S. th., 1–2, q. 62a 1c).

N.⁵ The differentiation between supernatural and natural virtues, emphasized in St. Thomas's teaching, has been confused (see M. von Thadden, op. cit., 114). The usual Aristotelian order of the cardinal virtues (Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance) has been changed to Temperance, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude. Consequently, Prudence is next to *Sapientia* represented in the gable of St. Thomas's throne, an arrangement which may have been inspired by the quotation from the *Liber Sapientiae* (VIII, 7): *sobrietatem enim et prudentiam docet, et iustitiam et virtutem, quibus utilius nihil est in vita hominibus*.

of the fresco, is given most prominence (see *Corinthians*, I, 13). The prototype for the three flying theological virtues must be the Good Government by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, where they appear above the enthroned ruler, who personifies the Comune (N.⁶).

The second source is the divine word, as revealed in Holy Scripture and personified by figures and authors of the Old and New Testaments on whom St. Thomas wrote commentaries (N.⁷). The saints nearest St. Thomas are the four evangelists and St. Paul (N.⁸); the Old Testament figures complete the row at either end (PLS. I⁹–I¹³). The heretic Averroes between Sabellius and Arius at St. Thomas's feet symbolize heresy overcome by *scientia infusa* (PL. I⁷; N.⁹). The two groups of seven female figures in the lower part of the fresco personify the various disciplines of *scientia infusa* and *scientia acquisita* as taught in the medieval universities. Each group is ideally orientated towards the centre, that is, towards the figure of St. Thomas seated directly above the marked arrow-shaped division between the two choir stalls (N.¹⁰). On St. Thomas's left are the seven philosophical disciplines represented by the Liberal Arts (from right to left, Trivium, *scientia rationalis* and Quadrivium, *scientia mathematicalis*; PLS. I¹⁹, I²¹; N.¹¹), with the symbols of the planets in the gables of the choir stalls. On the saint's right are the higher sciences (Jurisprudence, *scientia moralis* or civil and canon law; pagan theology, N.¹²; and Christian Theology, *scientia divinalis*; PLS. I¹⁴–I¹⁶; N.¹³). These are attained through the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, which are personified in the gables above (N.¹⁴). The figures

N.⁶ Reprod. in George Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Princeton, II, 1958, pl. 161.

N.⁷ The interpretation of the two heads in the spandrels of St. Thomas's throne (PL. I²) as symbols of the Old and New Testaments advanced by P. Bargellini is unconvincing (see *Città di pittori*, Firenze, 2nd ed., 1939, 203). They are, to quote J. von Schlosser's opinion, *vielleicht lediglich von decorativer Bedeutung* (in *Austrian Jahrbuch*, XVII, 1896, 44). Similar medallions, but with busts instead of heads, appear above the Investiture of St. Peter Martyr on the entrance wall (PL. IV⁴). Padre Stefano Orlandi interprets them as *la testa di un vecchio (esperienza) e di un giovane (ardore giovanile di chi apprende la scienza)* in *S. Maria Novella e i suoi chiostri monumentali*, Il Rosario, Firenze, 1956, 52; but this explanation is unfounded.

N.⁸ St. Paul's presence here is also explained by the *Legenda Aurea* (1846 ed., 469) where we are told that the saint gave St. Dominic a book which may well symbolize the Order's intellectual interests.

N.⁹ The earliest identification of these figures as Arius, Sabellius and Averroes appears in Vasari's *Vite* (1st ed., I, 1550, 183). The figure of Sabellius in reverse occurs in a panel by the school of Fra Angelico in the Museum of S. Marco (reprod. in Frieda Schottmüller, *Fra Angelico*, Stuttgart, 2nd ed., 1924, 151). He is shown seated at St. Thomas's feet and his name is given in an inscription. This confirms the identification of the Sabellius figure in Andrea's fresco. For the Dominican attitude towards these heretics and Averroes in particular, see Meiss (1951, 101, 103 et seq.).

N.¹⁰ The Trivium precedes the Quadrivium in the sequence of the Liberal Arts, reading from right to left. In fact, all the various groups are ideally concentrated on the figure of St. Thomas.

N.¹¹ The combination of the planets and the Liberal Arts also occurs in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco of Good Government. Here the planets and the Liberal Arts are depicted in the upper and lower framing borders respectively (see George Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Princeton, II, 1958, pls. 155–157; 191–195; 179, 180, 183, 185).

N.¹² Hitherto this figure has been interpreted as Medicine and the medallion was believed to represent one of the phases of the world's creation (cf. Genesis, I, 9–10; cf. N.⁵ on p. 42).

N.¹³ The earliest descriptions (Vasari, 1550; Borghini, 1584) interpret the seven female allegories on the left as the *sette scienze Theologiche*. The oldest Dominican source for the church and monastery of S. Maria Novella is Biliotti (1586) whose interpretation of the frescoes corresponds in part with ours. He correctly identifies the first two figures as branches of Jurisprudence, the two following as theological disciplines (*theologia pratica* and *speculativa*), but gives the last three as *fides*, *spes*, *charitas* in accordance with the usual iconographical tradition (cf. pp. 40 and 45 n. 9).

N.¹⁴ St. Thomas writes that the apprehension of the supreme mysteries can only be reached through the *motio Spiritus Sancti* since they lie beyond the capacity of the intellect (*S. th.*, I, 2, q. 68, a. 2). Therefore Schlosser's identification of these figures as the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit would fit in with the programme of this fresco. It is supported by his reference to Alexander Neckam (1157–1217) who draws a parallel between the

seated along the step beneath the choir stalls are the major exponents of the Liberal Arts and higher sciences.

This programme had no precedent. According to traditional medieval iconography, the seven Liberal Arts and their exponents formed a counterpart to the seven virtues and vices (N.¹⁵). But the fact that the virtues were already represented in the upper part of the fresco and that the theological sciences had to be included, meant that the authors of the programme and the artist had to work out a new solution (N.¹⁶). Consequently, the seven theological sciences, subdivided into three and four, were put in the place usually given to the virtues. The absence of an established iconographical tradition makes it difficult to interpret all the individual figures. For the attitudes of the theological sciences the artist has evidently adapted the traditional formula used for the virtues to the requirements of the new programme (N.¹⁷). The inscriptions of the latter, unfortunately, have flaked off.

Although the *Summa Theologica* lay behind certain ideas in the Triumph, it did not inspire the iconography of the fresco as a whole (N.¹⁸). There are analogies in conception between this fresco and the Glory of St. Thomas (c. 1335) by the school of Simone Martini in S. Caterina at Pisa (N.¹⁹). Here, too, St. Thomas is shown inspired by the Holy Spirit and the divine word (compare the rays directed towards the saint's head issuing from the figure of Christ above and from the books of the evangelists, St. Paul and Moses). Furthermore, Aristotle, Plato (N.²⁰) and Averroes are also represented (N.²¹).

St. Thomas is also portrayed in Andrea di Cione's Strozzi altarpiece as the defender of the Faith; he receives the book of Christian doctrine from the hands of Christ. This idea is taken up again in the vault of the Strozzi Chapel where the saint appears no less than four times, in each case accompanied by two virtues (N.²²).

planets and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. However, this point cannot be accepted with absolute certainty until other such representations are found (see *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, Freiburg im Breisgau, II, 1970, 70–71). Compare also N.³.

N.¹⁵ Baldinucci (1686) interprets the seven figures on the left as *sette virtudi, tre teologiche, e quattro cardinali*; but he cannot have studied the fresco very closely.

N.¹⁶ The seven Liberal Arts and the historical representatives of human learning appear as pendants to the seven virtues and vices in the *decretals* of 1354 in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (Ms. B. 42 inf., f. 1; reprod. in D'Ancona, *Miniature Italienne*, 1925, pl. XXVIII). Compare also the miniatures from the second quarter of the Trecento at the end of the manuscript, the *Appeal of Prato*, in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence (B. R. 38: formerly II. I. 27; one page reprod. in Degenhart-Schmitt, *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300–1450*, Berlin, 1968, I–I, 58, fig. 95).

N.¹⁷ See, for example, the personifications of roman law and the last two theological sciences on the left (PLS. I¹⁴–I¹⁶) the attitudes generally given to Justice, Hope and Fortitude.

N.¹⁸ The iconography of the Spanish Chapel has been examined most thoroughly by Hettner (1879). However, his description of the West wall as *die monumentale bildliche Illustration . . . der Summa theologica* (p. 111) falls short when it comes down to details. Schlosser contributed further valuable observations (in *Austrian Jahrbuch*, XVII, 1896). He interpreted the Liberal Arts as complementary to the theological sciences and identified the latter (from left to right) as roman and canon law, Physics (Medicine, as the most important of the natural sciences) and the four branches of Theology. Schlosser based his interpretation on Honorius of Autun (*De animae exilio et patria, alias de artibus*) who divides theology into four disciplines, namely, historical, allegorical (Dogmatic), tropological (Ethics) and anagogical (Mystic). He also suggests that there may have been an influence of St. Bonaventura's *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, which develops this theme further.

N.¹⁹ For attribution and date, see Enzo Carli, *Pittura pisana del Trecento*, Milano, I, 1958, 31; pl. 15; and Meiss in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LVI, 1960, 50, 55 n. 2.

N.²⁰ They are smaller in scale and the rays from their books are not directed towards the saint's head.

N.²¹ The Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas by Benozzo Gozzoli (assisted) in the Louvre (No. 1319) is based on the same iconographical plan (photo. Alinari, 23124); reprod. in van Marle, XI, 1929, 209). This picture was originally in Pisa Cathedral (see Vasari, Milanese ed., III, 1878, 50).

N.²² For the altarpiece by Andrea di Cione, see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, PLS. I, I⁵; for the medallions by Giovanni del Biondo, see Vol. IV, 21, 21 n. 1; PLS. I^{1–4}).

The original prototype for all these representations may have been the central panel of the tabernacle by the Biadaiolo Illuminator in the Lehman Collection (N.²³). In this panel, the allegorical content is merely implied, since St. Thomas is portrayed as a teacher, surrounded by his pupils, with the conquered Averroes at his feet.

Andrea Bonaiuti's Triumph of St. Thomas had a direct influence on the fresco in the Bracciolini Chapel in S. Francesco at Pistoia, dating from the first half of the XV century (N.²⁴). Here St. Augustine is surrounded by virtues and personifications of the Liberal Arts: Hope, Charity, Faith, Justice and Temperance on the left; Fortitude, Prudence, Grammar, Dialectic (also holding a branch and scorpion) and Music on the right.

A typical early-Trecento example of a glorification of a saint is the St. Francis fresco by the Master of the Vele in the Lower Church at Assisi (N.²⁵) where St. Francis appears enthroned surrounded by hovering angels.

As is apparent from the allegorical content of the fresco in the chapter-hall (N.²⁶), St. Thomas is glorified rather for his teaching than for his sanctity. The abstract style of the fresco harmonizes with its abstract content. This tendency towards abstraction is evident if one compares, for instance, the enthroned St. Thomas and the figures seated beside him with the similar arrangement of Christ and the apostles in Giotto's Last Judgement at Padua. In the latter, however, the figures are united in space by their attitudes and by the curve of the dais on which they are seated (N.²⁷). The Triumph of St. Thomas is the most emphatically symmetrical of the frescoes in the chapter-hall (PL. I¹). The composition is divided horizontally into two parts composed of figures seated in rows which produce a rigid, hieratic effect. The upper section has a predominant vertical axis formed by St. Thomas's throne which, together with the flying virtues, accentuates the saint's central position in this composition. The planimetric symmetry of the fresco is only broken by the projecting dais at the saint's feet on which the three heretics are seated; but they do not interfere with the stability of the composition either formally or ideologically. The crouching attitudes of the heretics, one of whom has his back turned, contrast with the absolute frontality of St. Thomas. He holds the open book firmly in his hands, conveying an impression of power and strength; whereas Averroes leans limply on a closed book and that of Sabellius is merely lying at his feet (PLS. I², I⁷; N.²⁸).

The beauty of the fresco lies in the individual figures, especially those of the virtues and the female allegories in the lower half. They are characterized by the Gothic swing of their bodies, the graceful movement of their heads, arms and hands, by their sweet expressions and the decorative arrangements of their hair and veils. Note especially, Faith, Hope, Temperance

N.²³ Reprod. in Robert Lehman, *The Philip Lehman Collection*, New York, Paris, 1928, pl. LXXIII and in *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. II, Pt. I, PLS. XIX–XIX². This tabernacle was also a Dominican commission. This is confirmed by the presence of SS. Peter Martyr and Thomas Aquinas and by the Dominican among the scholars in the St. Thomas scene.

N.²⁴ Published by G. Brunetti in *Rivista d'Arte*, XVII, 1935, 229; photos. Brogi, Florence; Soprintendenza, Florence, 20851; see also Giglioli, *Pistoia*, 1904, 121, 122. The first cardinal virtue can only be Justice. Her name is inscribed on the scroll held by St. Augustine. Her usual attributes are missing but she is identifiable by the third eye on her forehead and by the finger laid on her lip, a gesture of reflection (Alinari, Florence, Brogi 901).

XIVth century representations of the Triumph of St. Augustine reach as far back as 1354 (see Coletti in *L'Arte*, XXXVII, 1934, 101 et seq., fig. 2). The latter could possibly have influenced the author of the Spanish Chapel fresco programme.

N.²⁵ Reprod. in Curt H. Weigelt, *Giotto*, Stuttgart, 1925, 162.

N.²⁶ The same stylization characterizes the Simonesque Glorification of St. Thomas Aquinas in S. Caterina at Pisa mentioned above (reprod. in van Marle, V, 1925, between pp. 204 and 205; see also p. 29, n. 19 of this volume).

N.²⁷ Reprod. in Curt H. Weigelt, *Giotto*, Stuttgart, 1925, 78–79.

N.²⁸ See Heinrich Klotz's excellent interpretation of these three figures in *Amici Amico*, Festschrift für Werner Gross, München, 1968, 185–186.

and Fortitude in the upper part; left below, *Prisca Theologia* and the first and third branches of theology, namely History and Ethics; and right, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Music and Dialectic (PLS. I⁵, I⁶, I¹⁴, I¹⁵, I¹⁶, I²¹, I¹⁹). Some of the male figures also conform to the same type; for instance, the evangelists John and Luke, the pope in the lower row and, still more, Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras and Euclid (PLS. I¹⁰, I¹², I¹⁴, I¹⁹, I¹⁶, I²¹). But the artist's style is not limited to these almost lyrical figures, which are among the most beautiful examples to be found in Florentine Trecento painting. In sharp contrast to them are the powerful male types exemplified by Job, David, Matthew, Moses and Isaiah (PLS. I⁹, I¹², I¹³). Their features are care-worn and furrowed by time, and the forcefulness of their characterization extends to the drawing of their hair. The most impressive heads are those of Job and Isaiah, even though the foreshortening of their mouths is slightly imperfect. This peculiarity recurs in other places (e.g. PL. II¹¹). On the other hand, one is inclined to attribute the schematic execution of the beards of David and Matthew to Bonaiuti's assistants and the same applies to the heads of St. Paul and Justinian. However, this is a distinction of quality, not of difference in style (N.²⁹).

Both types merge in the head of St. Thomas (PL. I²); his eyes have a melancholy expression often found in Andrea's figures, whereas the mouth and chin convey the vigour of the saint's personality (N.³⁰). The figure of St. Thomas was conceived and executed in conjunction with those of the three heretics (PL. I⁷). The latter, especially Averroes, are most striking for their expressive attitudes and fine execution. Exactly how detailed the under-drawing was can be seen in the figures of Sabellius and Arius where the paint has flaked off (PLS. I⁸, I⁷; before and after restoration). One may also observe the delicate sketching of St. Thomas's robes draped around his feet, which further demonstrates the artist's skill as a draughtsman. The rapid sketches near the figure of Pythagoras (PLS. I¹⁶, I¹⁷) may well have been modifications made by the artist during the course of execution (N.³¹). The same high quality of drawing and execution is found in St. Jerome and Tubalcain in the lowest row of the fresco (PLS. I¹⁵, I²¹); but unlike the other figures in this row, their heads were painted after the draperies (cf. PL. I²⁶). The same method was used for the row above, and this may explain the high quality of the heads which Andrea must have executed personally.

The drawing of the figures in the ornamental band of the fresco is characteristic of the artist's style. The saint in the lower right quatrefoil closely resembles Job (PLS. I²⁵, I⁹); the figure in the upper left quatrefoil is stylistically related to Aristotle (PLS. I⁵, I¹⁹), and the one opposite on the right to St. Luke (PLS. I⁶, I¹²). The foreshortened figure of Christ is particularly effective (PLS. I³, I²³; before restoration). In the case of the corner quatrefoil on the left the drawing is clearly Andrea's but the execution the work of an assistant (PL. I²⁴).

To our knowledge, no prototypes existed for the personifications of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (PLS. I¹⁴–I¹⁶). These medallions, which are beautifully executed, may well be the artist's own invention. For the *donum pietatis* he could have derived his interpretation from representations of the seven works of mercy, found in earlier paintings and sculptures. The personifications of *donum timoris*, *donum intellectus* and *donum sapientiae* show exceptional originality. For the representations of the planets, which are also very fine, Andrea could have drawn from existing prototypes (PLS. I¹⁶, I¹⁹, I²¹; N.³²).

N.²⁹ It is difficult to be more explicit owing to the poor state of these figures (e.g. Charity's head, in particular her left cheek). The same applies to the heads of Rhetoric, Grammar and Donatus (PLS. I⁴, I¹⁹). However, Andrea was certainly responsible for the drawing of these figures.

N.³⁰ Compare the detail photo Soprintendenza, 112855, which shows the head during restoration.

N.³¹ See also Procacci in Bibliography under 1960. He suggests that this may be the work of a pupil trying to copy his master, but this is less likely.

N.³² See p. 25 n. 15.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

FLORENCE

S. MARIA NOVELLA, Chiostro Verde

CAPITOLO OR CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI

FRESCO: *East wall*, Church Militant and Triumphant (PL. II). *Lower zone, left*; in front of the Florentine cathedral (N.¹; with the campanile on the left) the enthroned figures of pope and emperor between spiritual and temporal dignitaries (left, cardinal and bishop; right, king and count); at the feet of the two central figures, a small flock of sheep guarded by two black and white dogs, the *domini canes* (N.²); left, members of the Catholic hierarchy and religious orders; right, lay men and women (PL. II¹; N.³); *lower zone, right*; St. Dominic inciting the hounds to attack the wolves that have entered the fold (PL. II⁶); beside him, St. Peter Martyr and St. Thomas Aquinas (PLS. II⁸, II¹¹; N.⁴) each disputing with a group of heretics, some of whom are converted (see the two Jews kneeling before St. Thomas, N.⁵, and the man tearing up a here-

N.¹ Since Andrea Bonaiuti is known to have been an advisory member of the commission responsible for preparing a model for the Florentine cathedral in 1366/7 (see Chronology of Authenticated Facts, pp. 11, 12) it may be assumed that the cathedral as represented in the fresco was based on this model or, more probably, on the artist's own ideas (see Chronology, p. 7). Already Vasari in his 1st edition of the *Vite* (I, 1550, 175) describes it as *come . . . egli avrebbe voluto farla*. However, in his 2nd edition (I, 1568, 171) he considered it to be a derivation from Arnolfo di Cambio's model in the cathedral workshop. This opinion was generally accepted until the beginning of this century. Supino was the first to question it (see *Gli albori dell'arte fiorentina*, Firenze, 1906, 152-3) basing his argument on the documents published by Guasti in 1887 and returning to the theory of the artist's own design. Paatz (1937) was strongly in favour of the same opinion (see *Werden und Wesen der Trecento-Architektur in Toskana*, Burg b. Magdeburg, 1937, 178 n. 376; also Paatz, III, 1952, 721) and so was Howard Saalman (in *Art Bulletin*, XLVI, 1964, 493), who writes that the "*fresco church*" remains essentially a painter's ideal and somewhat conventional version of various architectural conceptions circulating in 1365-66 and may indeed antedate the evolution of the drum project in the Neri di Fioravante-Orcagna circle. Wolfgang Braunfels (*Der Dom von Florenz*, Olten-Lausanne-Freiburg i. Br., 1964, 26) also regards the cathedral in the fresco as an ideal version, in support of which he mentions the addition of a fourth bay which was only proposed in 1366 and the absence of the drum. John White (*Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250-1400*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1966, 322-323) believes that it is essentially based on the model of 1366 and that the artist omitted the drum and altered the position of the campanile for reasons of space (for the model of 1366, see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, 4). Angiola Maria Romanini (*Arnolfo di Cambio*, Milano, 1969, 116-8) thinks that it represents an intermediate stage never actually executed between the plans of Arnolfo and Talenti and that of 1367. She was the first to mention in art literature that the campanile might have been added later. This had been noticed by D. Dini during the restoration of the fresco, and is confirmed by U. Baldini in *Firenze restaura*, Firenze, 1972, 28-29. Frederick Hartt (*A History of Italian Renaissance Art*, London, 1970, 106), however, believes that Andrea may have recorded one of the many designs rejected by the commission. It is interesting that traces actually exist of the door visible in the fresco between the king and the count (PL. II⁴). This door was walled in and replaced by another immediately to the left (see document of November 14, 1367,) cited by Guasti, 1887, 206). I am grateful to Mr. Frank Toker for this information. For the campanile, see State on p. 79.

N.² The interpretation of the Dominicans as *domini canes* derives from the traditional association of St. Dominic with the image or the attributes of a dog. See A. A. Schmid in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, IV, 1958, 144 et seq.

N.³ For the identification of these figures, see pp. 39-40, p. 40 n. 23.

N.⁴ The text of St. Thomas's book is taken from Prov., VIII, 7, and forms the opening lines of his *Summa contra gentiles* condemning heresy.

N.⁵ Endres (in *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, XXII, 1909, 328) mentions St. Thomas's conversion of two prominent Jews which took place one Christmas (see Guilelmus de Thoco, *Vita S. Thomae* in *AA.SS., Martii tomus I*, 667).

tical book); *middle zone, right*; four seated allegorical figures (N.⁶), below them, in the equivalent to a predella, young girls dancing to the music of bagpipe and tambourine players (PLS. II²⁰–II²³; N.⁷); left of the seated figures, a man kneeling to receive absolution from a Dominican (Mico di Lapo and Fra Jacopo Passavanti, PL. II¹⁵); above these two groups, a secluded grove with children climbing trees to pick and eat the fruit (PL. II¹³); continuing the “predella” to the left, a boy being led to a tree, where other children are eating fruit (PLS. II¹⁸, II¹⁹); in the centre, St. Dominic, acting as mediator, shows the penitent the way to the gates of Paradise (PL. II¹⁴), where they are received by St. Peter and crowned by angels (PL. II²⁴); beyond the gates, the Church Triumphant: top row, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Gregory(?), SS. Francis, Dominic, James Major, Peter, Paul, Andrew, John the Evangelist and John the Baptist; in front of them in lines of four, from right to left, four old testament figures: David, Noah, Solomon, Moses; four martyrs: SS. Stephen, Peter Martyr, Leonard (?), Lawrence; directly behind the latter a virgin martyr; among the remaining saints, S. Miniato carrying his head, SS. Constantine the Great (?), Augustine (?), Benedict, Ambrose (?), Bernard, Mary Magdalen, Catherine, Blessed Joan of Florence (N.⁸), Agnes (PL. II²⁵); *top zone*, Christ in Majesty holding book and key in a circular glory, seated on a rainbow (PL. II²⁸), to either side hosts of angels with the Virgin Mary on the left PLS. II²⁹, II³¹; at Christ’s feet, the Apocalyptic Lamb on an altar (N.⁹), surrounded by the four symbols of the evangelists (PL. II²⁸; N.¹⁰).

For documents, state, history and bibliography, see pp. 76–95.

N.⁶ There were certainly inscriptions giving the names of these figures along the step at their feet.

N.⁷ For the prototype of the dancing maidens, see foreword p. 37 n. 9.

N.⁸ Her remains are in S. Maria Novella (Kaftal, 1952, 537). For another representation of this saint, see *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. II, Pt. I, PL. XXV²; in the same volume (p. 58) she was erroneously identified as St. Joan of Orvieto.

N.⁹ For the iconography of the Lamb on the altar, see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. II, 88 n. 4.

N.¹⁰ For the eyes covering the symbols, see Rev., IV. 8.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

THE CHURCH MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT

The allegory of the Church Militant and Triumphant on the East wall (PLS. II–II³²; N.¹) has the same underlying theme as the Navicella in the vault section above. In the latter, St. Peter's boat personifying the Church is saved by Christ; on the wall, St. Dominic, at the centre of the fresco, is portrayed as the defender of the Church and protector and intercessor of the souls entrusted to his care. Just as St. Thomas is the key figure of the West wall, here the fresco is dominated by St. Dominic, who is represented no less than three times.

We shall attempt to analyse the subject of the fresco by describing the composition (N.²). The lower part of the fresco is sharply divided into two vertical sections. That on the left, which is slightly larger, symbolizes the united body of the Church; that on the right, the world in all its varied aspects. The sharpness of the division is somewhat attenuated by the figure of the young man turned towards St. Dominic at the foot of the fresco (PL. II⁶). The two sections are linked by the figure of St. Dominic which forms almost the centre of the composition, the real centre being the *Majestas Domini* (PL. II²⁸). Undoubtedly, the enthroned St. Thomas on the West wall is purposely contrasted with the dominating figure of Christ on the East wall.

The left section of the fresco is divided into tiers. The Church Militant is assembled before the symbolical effigy of the Florentine cathedral, above which is the Church Triumphant.

N.¹ The description of this fresco as the Church Militant and Triumphant goes back to Biliotti, the author of the chronicle of S. Maria Novella (1586), and must therefore record the traditional interpretation handed down in the monastery, from which Vasari also derived his interpretation: *La Religione di San Domenico* (1st ed., 1550) and *la Religione e Ordine del medesimo*, i.e. of St. Dominic (2nd ed., 1568). Biliotti's formulation was accepted by Fineschi (1787), Rosini (1840) and Marchese (1845). Mecatti (1737) followed this in part and suggested that it anticipated the reconciliation between the Greek and Roman Churches. Hettner (1879), while accepting the general theme of the Church Militant and Triumphant, interpreted the lower part of the fresco as the *Kampf der Kirche um den himmlischen Bräutigam* and the upper part as the *Seligkeit der errungenen Vereinigung*, basing his argument on one of the commentaries of the Song of Songs, according to which he interprets the garden as the *hortus conclusus* of the Song of Songs (IV, 12). This argument is refuted by Meiss in *Art Bulletin*, XV, 1933, 170. The presence of the confession group and the prototype for this scene in the Camposanto at Pisa demonstrates clearly that this section of the fresco illustrates worldly joys which must be overcome; this is also the interpretation given by Vasari (1st ed., I, 1550, 175) *nel mondo qua giu rimangono i piaceri & dilette uani in figure che seggono*.

Biliotti's description of the entire fresco also implies the glorification of the Dominican Order; a meaning also given by Schnaase (1864), Förster (1870) and Kraus (1908). Kraus interprets the group in front of the cathedral as the *Tribunal für die Reinerhaltung des Glaubens*, an explanation which Endres had already been correct in rejecting (in *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, XXII, 1909, 325–326). Millard Meiss' choice of title, *via veritatis*, expresses the same concept that underlies the descriptions of Biliotti and Vasari. According to Meiss: *The only road to salvation leads through the Church and the Dominican Order* (Meiss, 1951, 99). John White follows Meiss in speaking of the Road to Salvation (*Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250–1400*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1966, 371).

As early as 1845, Marchese related the frescoes in the Spanish Chapel to Passavanti's *Specchio della vera penitenzia* (ed. by Maria Lenardon, Firenze, 1925). Wood Brown (1902) and Venturi (1907) regarded it as the source of inspiration for this composition. The occasional parallels are too general (cf. discussion of the Navicella in the Prologue; op. cit., 1925, 2 et seq.) to be able to consider the collection of Passavanti's sermons as a direct model for the fresco (see also Meiss, 1951, 101). Brockhaus (in *Florentiner Mitteilungen*, I, 1911, 241–244) unconvincingly suggests a connection with the prayers for the dead.

N.² See also the notes to the description of the fresco: p. 33 n. 1 et seq. Millard Meiss has given the best interpretation of the East wall, and some of his observations are of fundamental importance (see 1951, 94 et seq.). Hettner's article in his *Italienische Studien*, Braunschweig, 1879, 116 et seq. also contains other useful suggestions (see p. 38 of this volume).

Christians of all walks of life are gathered under the protection of pope and emperor, spiritual dignitaries (cardinal and bishop) and temporal rulers (king and count; PL. II¹). The faithful are also symbolized by the sheep guarded by two *domini canes* on the dais at the feet of the pope and emperor. These two principal figures are set against blind arches (N.³); but the pope dominates the group as he fills the space of the arch behind him and is given emphasis by his high tiara and gesture of benediction.

The right-hand section is less coherently arranged. St. Dominic is portrayed sending out St. Peter Martyr and St. Thomas (with his book open at the *Summa contra Gentiles*) to fight heresy (PLS. II⁸, II¹¹); the same theme is implicit in the *domini canes* attacking the wolves (PL. II⁶). The effect of Dominican preaching is symbolized by the oriental tearing up his book. Further up in the fresco are four seated allegorical figures (PL. II²⁰). Their identity can be explained by the similar figures in the Camposanto at Pisa (N.⁴), which, according to Vasari (2nd ed.) personify *tutti i diletti del mondo* (N.⁵). These figures, which must stand for the pleasurable aspects of life, certainly had explanatory inscriptions along the step at their feet. The first three clearly represent music and dance, hunting and *bellezza naturale* (N.⁶). The contemplative figure probably personifies meditation, but its exact significance in this context is unclear (N.⁷). The corresponding figure in the Pisa fresco is another huntsman with a falcon. The interpretation of these figures as symbols of wordly pleasures is strengthened by the dancing maidens forming a “predella” beneath them (N.⁸). They are clearly inspired by the dancing girls in Ambrogio Lorenzetti’s Allegory of Good Government in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena (N.⁹). This interpretation of the four allegorical figures is also borne out by the placing

N.³ The blind arches of the two following bays are no longer visible (PL. II¹).

N.⁴ Reprod. in van Marle, V, 1925, 213. Photo. Anderson, Florence, 28273.

N.⁵ See Vasari, Milanese ed., I, 1878, 596, 597. In describing the fresco in S. Maria Novella, Vasari writes *nel mondo quaggiù rimangono i piaceri e diletti vani, in figure umane* (op. cit. I, 550). It is possible to base the interpretation of this group on the Pisa fresco, since the symbolism of a figure always remains the same in the Trecento, just as the attributes of a saint always have the same meaning. This remains valid for *Sapientia*, represented twice in the Triumph of St. Thomas with the attributes of Prudence – in the gable of the saint’s throne and in that above the third branch of theology (PLS. I⁴, I¹⁵) – as these were regarded as parallel concepts during the Middle Ages (see *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. VII, 18 n. 2).

N.⁶ Thus described by the Dominican Bartolomeo da San Concordio (d. 1347) in the *Ammaestramenti degli antichi*; see the miniature by the Master of the Dominican Effigies in the manuscript, Cod. Palat. 600, in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence (reprod. in *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. II, Pt. II, ADD. PL. XVII³) in which the figure is represented holding a mirror in addition to a dog. Meiss (1951, 98 n. 9) independently reached the same conclusion. On the other hand the woman with a dog on the pulpit by Nicola Pisano in the Baptistery at Pisa has been interpreted as a virtue (as *Prudenza*? by Giusta Nicco Fasola, *Nicola Pisano*, Roma, 1941, pl. 22; as *Fidelitas* by Georg Swarzenski, *Nicola Pisano*, Frankfurt a. M., 1926, 30, 72; pl. 12; Géza Jászai has suggested Innocence, *Die Pisaner Domkanzel*, München, 1968, 17). Dr. A. Middeldorf-Kosegarten kindly brought to my attention a capital dating from the first half of the Trecento in Siena Cathedral (South transept) where the same three figures and attributes as in the Florentine fresco are represented (the unexplained fourth figure is missing, as the back of the capital is only decorated with foliage; reprod. in V. Lusini, *Il Duomo di Siena*, Siena, I, 1911, 207–209; photos. Lombardi, Siena, 2657, 2658, 2655).

N.⁷ M. A. Devlin (in *Speculum*, IV, 1929, 279) identifies the two figures on the right as Laura and Petrarch, whereas Peter Meller proposes that the latter is an allegory of philosophy, on account of its contemplative attitude.

N.⁸ Hugh of St. Victor (c. 1096–1141) includes Dance as the seventh mechanical art in his manuscript *Didascalicon II* (see Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXVI, 763; the same applies to St. Albertus Magnus, c. 1200–1280; see *B. Alberti Magni Omnia Opera*, Paris, 38 volumes 1890–1899, VIII, 336). Also in the Bible Dance is considered as something positive (see *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, IX, 1964, 1293). I thank Frau Dr. Uta Feldges, Basle, for this reference.

N.⁹ Reprod. in George Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Princeton, II, 1958, 221. The group of dancers is repeated in Andrea’s fresco in the Camposanto at Pisa (photo. Frick Art Reference Library, S-30020; see also Pt. II).

of the confession scene beside them, since Paradise can only be reached through repentance and absolution. The saving of souls was the chief aim of the Dominican order. The two scenes are divided by the vertical formed by the back of the throne which is continued down in the bagpipe player accompanying the dancing maidens (PLS. II¹³, II²¹). The wall beyond the confession scene and the hedge behind the allegorical figures separate them from the sacred grove. The small figures below the confession scene will be discussed later. St. Dominic shows the penitent the way to Paradise, to which he can aspire only through Dominican teaching and purification in the sacred grove. The figure of St. Dominic is the fulcrum of this fresco: it is he who acts as mediator between earth and heaven. The fresco culminates in the Paradise scene. St. Peter receives the souls in the form of children at the gates of heaven while two angels crown them with garlands. Within the gates are the saints, among whom St. Dominic appears again (PL. II²⁵). The Majestas Domini, surrounded by choirs of angels with the Virgin personifying *Ecclesia*, symbolizes the Church Triumphant and crowns the fresco (PL. II²⁹).

We shall now consider the interpretation of the figures in the sacred grove (PL. II¹³). Apart from the children picking and eating fruit, it includes pilgrims and other figures, and a seated figure in meditation before a church on the horizon. It is important to establish the species of the trees. They are not all well preserved and some are still partially repainted (N.¹⁰), but they are clearly pomegranate trees and bushes, as is confirmed by comparing them with the tree in the background of the *Noli me Tangere* (PL. VIII⁷). The symbolism of the pomegranate in Christian art is the hope in resurrection and immortality (N.¹¹). The cypress in the sacred grove also symbolizes immortality (N.¹²); consequently this grove is clearly meant to represent a preparatory phase before entering Paradise, in which purification is attained by eating the pomegranate seeds. The clusters of fruit are also typical of pomegranates, which are described in the commentary to the Song of Songs as being free from the impurities of the flesh and from worldly vanity (N.¹³), and are therefore symbolical of inner purity. The pair approaching a pomegranate tree, as Hettner points out, cannot be worldly lovers (cf. N.¹³) a similar allegorical group occurs in the Resurrection, alluding simultaneously to the Fall of man and his redemption through Christ's Resurrection (PLS. VIII, VIII⁸). The children

N.¹⁰ This is especially true of the last tree towards the right with a child sitting in it (compare PL. II¹³ with photo. Alinari, 4109).

N.¹¹ See George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, 2nd ed., London, 1955, 46–47. Ferguson unfortunately gives no sources for his quotations. For the pomegranate as a symbol of the unity of the Church, see the passages in Hrabanus Maurus, to which Frau Uta Feldges has kindly brought my attention. See Hrabanus Maurus, *De Universo* (c. 844), Lib. 19, cap. 6: *De propriis nominibus arborum* in Migne, *P. L.*, CXI, 512–513: *Mala Punica Ecclesia est sive unitas fidei, et pacis concordia; Commentaria in libros IV regum III, cap. 7* (in *P. L.* CIX, 169, 170): (*quorum natura est uno foris cortice multa interius grana circumdare*) apte in figura sanctae ponuntur Ecclesiae, quae catholico unius fidei munimine innumera electorum agmina solet includere; and in *Commentaria in Libros II Paralipomenon*, Lib. III, cap. 3 (in Migne, *P. L.*, CIX, 436). The pomegranate tree as a symbol of the Resurrection appears in the sacristy-cupboard panel by Taddeo Gaddi in the Florentine Academy (No. 8591; reprod. in Sinibaldi-Brunetti, 1943, fig. 137 n.), and as a symbol of immortality in the Entombment fresco by Taddeo Gaddi in S. Croce, Cappella Bardi di Vernio (reprod. in Berenson, *Florentine School*, I, 1963, pl. 125).

A different interpretation of the pomegranate is given by St. Melito (in *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, ed. J. B. Pitra, II, Paris, 1884): *Mustum malagranatorum, sanguis sanctorum martyrium. In Cantica Cantorum: Ibi dabo tibi mustum malagranatorum meorum* (VIII, 2).

N.¹² For the symbolism attached to the cypress, see Oscar Doering, *Christliche Symbole*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1933, 67.

N.¹³ Cf. Canticles, IV, 3, and St. Thomas's comment in *Cantica Cantorum Expositio, Opera Omnia*, Vol. XIII, 1593, 75. Hettner was the first to note this connection (*Italienische Studien*, Braunschweig, 1879, 121).

approaching the pomegranate trees and plucking their fruit below the confession scene (PLS. II¹⁸, II¹⁹; N.¹⁴) must symbolize the renunciation of worldly joys and the desire for inner purity. The pomegranate is also identified with the Church because of the inner unity of countless seeds in one and the same fruit (cf. N.¹¹). This was the goal of the Dominicans and is intrinsic to the theme of the chapter-hall decoration.

The meaning of the fresco was probably also closely associated with the appeal for the Pope's return to Rome from his exile in Avignon and the return to Church unity. Pope Urban V (1362–1370) entered Rome on 16 October, 1367, when the chapter-hall was still being painted. The fresco celebrates the event and commemorates those who contributed towards the Pope's return (N.¹⁵). Chief among these was Cardinal Gil de Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo, sitting on the Pope's right (PL. II²), who had brought about the reunification of the Papal States and realized that the presence of the Pope was essential to maintain this unity. He was present at the Pope's arrival into Italy, but died soon after at Viterbo 24 August, 1367). On the Pope's left is the Emperor Charles IV (1347–1378; PL. II²; N.¹⁶), who supported the Pope's return and went to Avignon to promote this cause. Among the princes who headed the Pope's triumphant procession into Rome was the crusader Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy, here the last on the right of the seated dignitaries (PL. II⁴). The Emperor met Urban V shortly before their entry together into Rome in October 1368, on which occasion he led the Pope's mount. The figure to the Emperor's left can be identified as Pierre de Lusignan (Peter I, King of Cyprus; PL. II⁴), who had supported the Pope's crusades and captured Alexandria in 1365. He visited the Pope in Rome in 1368 and came to S. Maria Novella in Florence in the same year (N.¹⁷). Among the other historical figures is a Knight of the Garter, identified as Sir Edward le Despenser (PL. II⁴; N.¹⁸) and beside him on the left, Piero degli Albizzi, leader of the *Paperini* (cf. N.¹⁷). The iconography is discussed from a historical point of view in a study by Anthony Luttrell. He accepts the identifications of the enthroned figures suggested by M. A. Devlin. On the other hand, he rejects her identification of the bearded hospitaller (second from the left, top row, PL. II³) as Fr. Raymond de Bérenger and prefers Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia, Castellan of Amposta, the title given to the master of the Aragonese hospitallers. The latter was appointed Captain-General of Avignon by Innocent VI (N.¹⁹). Dr. Luttrell rightly suggests that the two

N.¹⁴ Here the bushes are shown as they appear in late autumn, without their leaves, but with the ripened fruit split open. In the grove above the trees are shown with leaves and fruit.

N.¹⁵ At that date no one could have suspected that Urban V would have returned in exile to Avignon in 1370. The popes did not return to Rome definitely until 1377.

We have only attempted to give a name to the figures whose identity is relatively convincing, and who are important for dating the fresco. Some discrepancies remain however. Cardinal Albornoz is represented as a Dominican, whereas he belonged to the Tertiary Order of the Franciscans. The emperor is shown with halo, although we do not know of another such representation of Charles IV, who was never canonized. Urban V, on the other hand, even if not beatified until 1870, in some Central Italian pictures is shown with halo (see Kaftal, 994). The identification of the pope is made problematic by the fact that in Central Italy he was portrayed as beardless (see Kaftal, 994). This is also true of the alabaster portrait of Urban V by an unknown artist datable after 1372, which does present a certain similarity with the pope in the fresco (Avignon, Musée Calvet; reprod. in Anton Haidacher, *Geschichte der Päpste in Bildern*, Heidelberg, 1965, 69).

N.¹⁶ There is a statue representing Charles IV from c. 1385 on the Altstädter Bridge in Prague (reprod. in *Pantheon*, XXX, 1972, 106).

N.¹⁷ For further details, see M. A. Devlin's excellent article in *Speculum*, IV, 1929, 270–281, which until now has received little attention. See also Franz Xaver Seppelt, Georg Schwaiger, *Geschichte der Päpste*, München, 1964.

N.¹⁸ Anna Maria Crinò in the foreword to the catalogue *Firenze e L'Inghilterra*, Firenze, Palazzo Pitti, luglio-settembre, 1971, also refers to him. There is, however, no proof of his presence in Italy until May 1368. The Order of the Garter was founded by Edward III, in c. 1347.

N.¹⁹ See *Burlington Magazine*, CXIV, 1972, 362 et seq. My warmest thanks are due to Dr. Anthony Luttrell for having allowed me to read the manuscript of his article.

nuns standing together on the far left may be Catherine of Siena and Bridget of Sweden, as a pilgrim (N.²⁰; PL. II³). The latter, as well as Charles IV and Petrarch, had implored the Pope to return.

As was customary in the Trecento, the fresco includes the portrait of the donor (PL. II¹⁵). Buonamico di Lapo Guidalotti, here kneeling in confession. He was buried in the chapter-hall on 4 September 1355. His good works have assured him the way to Paradise, as is clear from St. Dominic's gesture. His Dominican confessor cannot be other than Fra Jacopo Passavanti, his close friend, who was largely responsible for planning the programme of the frescoes (N.²¹). The painter, Andrea Bonaiuti, has also been correctly identified (W. Prinz) as the last figure on the right in the top row in front of the cathedral (PL. II⁴; N.²²).

This fresco constitutes one of earliest instances in Florentine painting in which contemporary figures play such an important part. This attempt at portraiture was to remain without parallel until the Quattrocento. However, these portraits lay more emphasis on the official character of the figures than on their actual appearance. With a few exceptions, the artist would not have been able to work from actual models. In the case of the pope, an examination of the *giornate* has shown that his vestments were painted before his head, and that his features were altered, probably after Urban's return to Rome in October 1367 (PL. II²). Other figures, the artist may have been able to paint from life; for instance, Pierre de Lusignan is known to have visited S. Maria Novella in 1368, where he left his cloak with his portrait embroidered on it (Devlin and Luttrell, cf. N.¹⁷, N.¹⁹, N.²³).

N.²⁰ There are three more or less authentic portraits of Bridget of Sweden by Niccolò di Tommaso (Pinacoteca Vaticana, No. 137; Philadelphia, Johnson Collection, No. 120; Yale University Art Gallery, No. 1943. 236). In these the saint's vision of the Christ Child is represented, which appeared to her on her pilgrimage to Bethlehem in 1372. Bridget was in Naples in January 1373 and died in Rome on July 23rd of the same year. This date is therefore a *terminus post quem* for these portraits by Niccolò di Tommaso, and would correspond to the artist's style at that date. The portrait in the Vatican panel is the most similar to the figure on Andrea Bonaiuti's fresco (reprod. in Berenson, *Florentine School*, I, 1963, fig. 322).

N.²¹ Passavanti died on 15 June 1357. For both these identifications, see M. A. Devlin in *Speculum*, IV, 1929, 279 and F. Filippini in *Il Comune di Bologna*, XV, 1929, 19, 20, 21, who independently reached the same conclusion. Filippini, however, assumed that the chapter-hall was painted in 1355, during Passavanti's lifetime. The two portraits are idealized. There is, nevertheless, a certain similarity with the presumed portrait of Passavanti in the Last Judgment by Nardo di Cione in the Strozzi Chapel (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. II, PLS. IX^f, IX^g; p. 49 n. 6). Less convincing is Filippini's idea that the Dominican standing on the right in the Healing of Agatha on the entrance wall is also a portrait of Passavanti (PLS. IV¹⁷, II¹⁵). Nor do we agree with his identification of the two figures standing in the centre of the Agatha scene (PL. IV¹⁵) as Dante and Andrea Bonaiuti (possibly with his two children; *sic*). He bases his identification of Dante on a hypothetical suggestion made by Pier Liberale Rambaldi (in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, X, 1903, 366, n. 1).

N.²² See *Florentiner Mitteilungen*, Beiheft zu Vol. XII, 1966, 58–59. He alternatively suggests that the profile figure next to Vasari's Cimabue could be the artist's self-portrait. For the first identification Prinz rightly mentions the analogy with the portrait of Agnolo Gaddi in the Entry of Heraclius into Jerusalem in S. Croce (published by W. Prinz, loc. cit., 1966, 62, fig. 35).

N.²³ We shall here give a brief summary of the interpretations advanced hitherto which do not affect the historical content and dating of the fresco. As in the case of Nardo di Cione's fresco in the Strozzi Chapel, attempts have been made to identify historical personalities in the Church Militant and Triumphant from an early date. The earliest of these is Gelli's reference to the portraits of Laura and Petrarch (1549). Vasari (1550) describes the latter as *à canto ad un cavaliere di Rodi*, whereas, according to Fineschi (1790, 45), *ha un cappuccio bianco in capo e la mozzetta rossa*; Petrarch would therefore be the last figure on the extreme left in the top row. In describing Laura, Vasari (1568) mentions that she is *vestita di verde, con una piccola fiammetta di fuoco fra il petto, e la gola*; the original colour of this figure's dress has flaked off revealing the brownish under-paint. In his second edition Vasari also refers to the pope as Benedict XI and to the cardinal as Niccolò da Prato (also Biliotti, 1586). Both were Dominicans and during the pontificate of Benedict XI, Fra Niccolò Albertini of Prato resided at S. Maria Novella. In addition, Vasari lists Cimabue, Lapo architetto, Arnolfo suo figliuolo, e Simone (Martini) stesso. The woodcut portrait of Cimabue in Vasari's second edition (I, 1568, 82),

October 1367 might therefore be the *terminus post quem* for dating the entire group and this means that the decoration of the chapter-hall could not have been completed by the end of the same year, since the North and South walls still remained to be painted. The fact that there is more workshop participation in these two frescoes may imply that they were started by Andrea's assistants while he was completing the Church Militant and Triumphant.

The compositions of the two principal frescoes of the chapter-hall are conceived planimetrically. But whereas in the Triumph of St. Thomas the emphasis is on symmetry and on horizontal divisions, in the Church Militant and Triumphant it is the vertical accent which predominates (N.²⁴), culminating in the Majestas Domini. This fresco embodies a number of abstract ideas: the unity of the Church is made to contrast with the variety of worldly activities; the same idea is symbolically echoed in front of the cathedral where the ordered rows of Church dignitaries face the more confused lay group (PL. II¹).

Andrea was personally responsible for much of the painting of the left section and must also have executed the confession group (PL. II¹⁵). The two figures correspond in quality, force and beauty to St. Thomas on the opposite wall (PL. I²). Similarly, one may compare the two principal representations of St. Dominic (PLS. II⁶, II¹⁶) with St. Mark in the Triumph (PL. I¹⁰), both in the painting of the heads and in the plastic drapery folds which are typical of the artist. These characteristic tubular folds recur in the two other standing Dominican saints, and in the bag-pipe player which are certainly by his hand too (PLS. II⁸, II¹¹, II²¹; N.²⁵). The artist's personal touch is visible in the fine execution of the hands and their expressive modelling: see, for example, St. Peter Martyr and the two heretics facing him (PL. II⁸). In the scene of St. Thomas preaching, the converted heretic tearing up his book is remarkable for the foreshortening of his body and the intensity of his movement (PL. II¹¹). One may note the inferior quality of some of the heads in the upper part of this group.

The static and monumental quality of Andrea's figures is evident if one compares the four seated allegories with their counterparts in Traini's Triumph of Death in the Camposanto at Pisa (PL. II²⁰; Anderson, 28273), which are striking for their vigour and vivid expressions. The same contrast distinguishes Traini's fresco from Andrea di Cione's Triumph of Death in S. Croce, Florence (N.²⁶), which must have been the source of inspiration for these

is derived from the Knight of the Garter (see W. Prinz in *Florentiner Mitteilungen*, Beiheft zu Vol. XII, 1966, 47, who rightly observes that this figure cannot be an artist; see also below). Lapo and his son would be the next two figures on the right, obviously of two different generations (see Prinz, loc. cit., 48). For Simone Martini we refer to the description by Bocchi-Cinelli (1677, 261): *Cimabue vestito di bianco* (the same figure as in Vasari's woodcut) . . . *gli è allato Simone . . . che si ritrasse da se con due specchi per far la testa in profilo* (see also the woodcut in Vasari, 2nd, ed., I, 1568, 169 and Prinz, loc. cit., 58–59). Lastly, Vasari names Conte Guido Novello (*quel soldato coperto d'arme*), the man in armour standing behind the kneeling women. Fineschi (1790, 45–46) also names Giotto, and suggests Henry VII for the emperor, Philippe le Bel for the king, Filippo degli Atti, Bishop of Florence, for the seated bishop and Fra Angiolo Acciaiuoli, Bishop of Florence at the time of the expulsion of the Duke of Athens, for the standing bishop. For the latter, Padre Orlandi (1956) proposes the name of Fra Aldobrandino Cavalcanti, Bishop of Orvieto, who was believed to be the founder of S. Maria Novella. Orlandi also suggests Charles IV for the emperor, and either Philippe IV le Bel or Charles V for the king. Orlandi calls Bocchi-Cinelli's alleged Simone Martini Giotto and the figure in front of him Cimabue. He further identifies the man in profile wearing a hood next to "Petrarca" (according to him the figure with the ermine collar) as Dante and the full-face figure holding a book in the row below as Boccaccio. He identifies the four kneeling women in the foreground as (from left to right) Beatrice, Fiammetta, Beata Villana delle Botti and Laura in green dress (PL. II⁶). L. Olschki, in an article (in *Art Bulletin*, XXVI, 1944, 100–101; fig. 8) believes Marco Polo and his son to be included in the fresco.

N.²⁴ In this context, see Vasari, Milanese ed., I, 1878, 551: *pigliando le facciate intiere . . . fa in ciascuna diverse storie su per un monte*.

N.²⁵ The white pigment of the Dominican habits is particularly well preserved.

N.²⁶ Compare the two groups of beggars in both frescoes (van Marle, V, 1925, 215; *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, PL. III²).

four figures. Like the donor group, the four seated allegories to judge from the fine modelling of the faces must be by the artist's own hand. The pensive expression of the fourth figure recalls St. Jerome in the Triumph (PL. I¹⁵). The solemnity of this group contrasts with the pipers and graceful dancers (PLS. II²¹–II²³). In their attitudes the latter recall both the virtues on the opposite wall and the dancing angels in the stained-glass window in S. Maria Novella also by Andrea Bonaiuti (PLS. in Pt. II; N.²⁷).

The crowd scenes betray more assistance on the part of the workshop (see, for instance, the garlanded souls entering Paradise), whereas individual figures, if not actually painted by the artist, are clearly based on his detailed underdrawing. The characterization and variety of types – one of the most remarkable aspects of Andrea's art – show that many of the figures were studied from life.

The artist's ability at characterization is best visible in the group of spiritual and temporal dignitaries, culminating in the pope. The execution of the latter is of the same high quality as that of St. Dominic at the centre of the fresco (PLS. II², II¹⁶). The faithful in front of the cathedral fall into groups of twos and threes, engrossed in conversation or discussion, thereby animating the composition. The hospitaller speaks to his companion with a slightly amused expression; the Dominican gesticulates in animated discussion with the Franciscan next to him; and the two figures below the hospitaller are engrossed in conversation (PL. II³). One of the most outstanding formal inventions is that of the standing bishop whose face radiates the spirituality and inner composure of the entire character. The profile head of the Franciscan is in expression lower in key when compared to the bishop and the almost frontal head between them. These contrasts probably were deliberately calculated by Andrea (PL. II²) who most likely was responsible for this group. Two figures in the foreground stand out for their individualization: the frontally seated man absorbed in reading a book and the praying monk, who is drawn in foreshortening in a way only found again in the Resurrection (PLS. II³, VIII). The kneeling monk in a black habit with his chin resting on his hand is exceptionally fine. His inspired expression foreshadows Fra Angelico (N.²⁸). Also in this section of the fresco, many of the figures are distinguished by the beautiful drawing of the hands, characteristic of the artist (PLS. II², III³).

As has already been said, the emphasis in the lower part of the composition is on the religious members of the Church, whose individualization and varied grouping form a contrast with the monotonous arrangement of the secular community (PL. II¹). The only figures that stand out are the Knight of the Garter and his two neighbours who counterbalance the group with the bishop on the other side of the dais (PL. II⁴, II²). The Knight's features, unlike most of the other profile heads in the fresco, are strongly characterized and enhanced by his lively attitude and the realistic way in which he is portrayed speaking to his companion. The other strongly individualized figures in this section include the man in profile to the Knight's right, the man holding a book and the Asiatic kneeling in front of him, also the alleged self-portrait of the artist, the man next to him and the man wearing a fur cap and cape (PL. II⁴). The kneeling figures of a pilgrim (N.²⁹) and two cripples in the foreground, like their counterparts on the left, are particularly striking; they recall the group of beggars in the Triumph of

N.²⁷ Published by Toesca in *Bollettino d'Arte*, XIV, 1920, 4–5. Photos. Soprintendenza, Florence, 98126, 98127.

N.²⁸ Compare, for instance, Frieda Schottmüller, *Fra Angelico*, Stuttgart, 2nd. ed., 1924, 131. The singling out of individual figures in the foreground is also typical of Fra Angelico (see Schottmüller, op. cit., 110, 111).

N.²⁹ The badge pinned to the pilgrim's hat should also be mentioned. For the original meaning of this type of ornament and its use, see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, volume in preparation, under Master of the Virgin of Mercy, New York, Mr. Jack Linsky, small panel with Christ's head and the inscription *PACEM. MEAM. DO. UOBIS*. John, XIV, 27). Meiss says of this panel: *The painting may have served as a pax, a tablet employed in the liturgy to transmit the kiss of peace from the celebrant to other clerics and to the laity* (1951, 37).

Death by Andrea di Cione (N.³⁰). The similarity between the head of St. Dominic commanding the hounds and that of the male cripple shows that this figure is autograph (PLS. II⁶, II⁴), which may not be true of the female beggar. The two graceful young women behind her are comparable to the figures of the Liberal Arts; the two female figures completing this group are inferior in quality (PL. II⁶).

The figure of St. Thomas (PL. II²⁵) among the saints in Paradise was probably executed by the artist himself, whereas the female saints lack the quality of the Liberal Arts in the Triumph. Some of the heads derive from prototypes in the earlier fresco: for instance, those of St. Paul, Solomon and Moses; but they are far inferior in quality (PLS. I¹⁰, I¹³, I¹²). Andrea left the painting of the glory and angels to his assistants, probably relying on the fact that the difference in execution would not have been visible from a distance (PLS. II²⁸, II²⁹, II³¹).

Andrea's fondness for decoration is revealed in the elaborate dress of some of the figures, such as the Madonna, the Knight of the Garter and the standing bishop (PLS. II²⁹, II⁴, II²). The delicate ornamentation of the cathedral contrasts with its impressive proportions (PLS. II¹–II⁴); the statues are sketched in very lightly and the ribs of the dome are enhanced by steps between a double frieze composed of animals with tails terminating in tendrils (PL. II²⁵).

There are a number of analogies between this fresco and the second scene of the Ranieri cycle in the Camposanto at Pisa. The white haired, bearded man kneeling in the left foreground of our fresco (PL. II³) can be compared with the navigator at Pisa; there is a figure similar to the bearded man immediately to the right of the Knight of the Garter (PL. II⁴) next to St. Ranieri giving alms; the lower right-hand saint in the Vision scene is modelled on the Virgin in the Glory (PL. II²⁹) but transformed into Andrea's monumental late style (for the Pisa frescoes, see Pt. II and photographs, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Roma, C 3393, C 3395, C 9400).

N.³⁰ *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, PL. III⁵.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

FLORENCE

S. MARIA NOVELLA, Chiostro Verde

CAPITOLO OR CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI

FRESCO: *North wall*, The Crucifixion, *below, left*, the Way to Calvary, *below, right*, the Descent into Limbo (PL. III).

For documents, state, history and bibliography, see pp. 76–95.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

THE CRUCIFIXION

The Crucifixion wall, like the entrance wall opposite but unlike the two side walls, is framed by a rounded arch (PL. III). It also has an arched opening which leads into the Corpus Domini Chapel. The artist was therefore obliged to adapt the Crucifixion scene to the irregular shape of the surface. His solution of the problem was ingenious. He arranged the lateral figures in the Crucifixion in horizontal planes and grouped those in the centre, some of which are on horseback, around the arch, in a surging movement towards the Cross. This movement would originally have been emphasized by the pointed arch which framed the entrance to the small chapel (PL. III¹). The original impression of the composition has been appreciably altered by the rounded arch, added in 1592, which rests on thick pilasters and cuts arbitrarily into the scene (PLS. III, III³). A pinnacle by an Orcagnesque master from the Lehman Collection, donated to the Metropolitan Museum, repeats the compositional scheme on a small scale, with the figures grouped around a pointed arch (N.¹).

Andrea's fresco is one of the earliest extant examples in Florentine painting of such a comprehensive representation of a Crucifixion scene with the three crosses and a crowd of figures. The influence of Sienese painting is evident; the composition is strongly reminiscent of Pietro Lorenzetti's Crucifixion in the Lower Church at Assisi (N.²). A number of motifs are common to both works: the flying angels, the two thieves (N.³), Gestas with broken legs (N.⁴), and the numerous mounted figures (PLS. III², III⁸, III¹², III). The detail of the man with his arm round his companion's shoulders in the Way to Calvary is also found at Assisi (PL. III¹⁴). The immediate prototype for Andrea's fresco may, however, have been a lost fresco, once in the chapter-hall of S. Spirito, attributed by Ghiberti (N.⁵) and the Magliabechiano (N.⁶) to Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and by Vasari (N.⁷) to Simone Martini. The representation of the two thieves, the one saved and the other damned, may be derived from the Crucifixion by a follower of Francesco Traini in the Camposanto at Pisa (N.⁸). The devils approaching to take possession of the bad thief's soul are humorously interpreted by the artist.

N.¹ Reprod. in Robert Lehman, *The Philip Lehman Collection*, New York, Paris, 1928, pl. VI. For a reconstruction of the original polyptych which included this panel see M. Boskovits in *Paragone*, XXIII, March, 1972, 35 et seq.

N.² South transept, east vault segment. Reprod. in E. T. DeWald, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, Cambridge, 1930, fig. 50. See also Carlo Volpe, *Pietro Lorenzetti ad Assisi* (L'Arte Racconta, No. 22, Milano, 1965, 16-25). There is also a Giottesque example of a crowded Crucifixion type with two thieves: the panel in the Louvre No. 1665a (reprod. in Coletti, II, 98).

N.³ For the Crucifixion with the two thieves (Dismas and Gestas) in Florentine painting, see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, 66-67, 67 n. 3 and Vol. III, 75, 75 n. 1. They already appear in the Tree of Life by Pacino di Bonaguida (Dismas, with a halo); this representation, however, is derived from Bonaventura's text (*Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. II, Pt. I, PL. II^{7a}; Vol. VI, 129). J. Polzer has rightly pointed out (in *Art Bulletin*, XLVI, 1964, 468 n. 39), that the Crucifixion including the two thieves already occurs in Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in the cathedral at Pisa. But Andrea's scene is more reminiscent of painted prototypes, especially of the Sienese school. For the iconography of the Crucifixion in general, see Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, Gütersloh, II, 1968, 167, 168.

N.⁴ For this motif, see John, XIX, 32. For the centurion with a halo, see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, 67, 67 n. 6.

N.⁵ See Schlosser ed., I, 1912, 42.

N.⁶ See Frey ed., 1892, 83.

N.⁷ See 1st ed., I, 1550, 174.

N.⁸ Photo. of the Camposanto Crucifixion, Alinari, Florence, 8769. The motif of angels carrying the good thief's soul to heaven and of demons carrying off that of the bad thief is to be found in Barna da Siena's fresco in the Collegiata at San Gimignano (photo. Brogi, Florence, 15226). It also returns in Jacopo di Cione's Crucifixion in the National Gallery, London, No. 1468 (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. III, PL. IV¹).

Compared with the Assisi fresco, Andrea's composition is more developed in the isolation of the figure of Christ towering above the crowd (PL. III²). The crosses of the two thieves merge into the crowd and remain within the worldly sphere (PL. III); they are placed at an angle to the picture plane – a detail also found at Assisi and Pisa – thereby interrupting the planimetric arrangement of the composition but, at the same time, creating a link between the three crosses. A further attempt at creating a sense of space in depth, possibly again under the influence of the Assisi fresco, is found in the group at the foot of the Cross and, to a lesser extent, in those around the crosses of the two thieves (PLS. III⁸, III¹³). In the former, two children with their backs turned stand before the Cross, and a man wearing a conical hat looks at the spectator from behind the stem. But particularly striking are the two figures looking upwards flanking the Cross in the last row, which recall the foreshortened guards in the Resurrection (PLS. III³, VIII³). However, the attempt to achieve a sense of depth loses in effectiveness through overcrowding; the impression might have been different had the artist executed the crowd groups himself.

One's attention is drawn from the Crucifixion to the Way to Calvary by the two small figures looking down at the latter scene (PL. III¹⁴). Christ appears at the centre of the crowd pouring out of the gate of Jerusalem, which winds in a procession past the city walls and up a narrow gorge towards Golgotha. The compositional scheme repeats that of Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco of the same subject in the Lower Church at Assisi (N.⁹). Andrea Bonaiuti has skillfully linked the two scenes without interrupting the action; unfortunately, the upper part of the procession is damaged, but one is able to see how the line continued into the Crucifixion scene (note the two horsemen seen from behind near the ornamental border and the one in front of them looking back, PLS. III, III⁹). Furthermore, certain figures in the Way to Calvary reappear in the Crucifixion: for instance, the two riders behind Christ carrying the Cross are found again right of the good thief (PLS. III¹⁵, III⁸); the rider on the extreme right entering the gorge (PL. III¹⁶) reappears left of the bad thief (PL. III¹³). The upward movement created by the procession continues into the Crucifixion scene and ends at the foot of Christ's Cross. On the other side there is a downward curve from Christ's Cross to that of the bad thief. At this point the artist has included an unprecedented scene: a mounted soldier, accompanied by others on foot, is attacking the frightened crowd (PL. III¹³; N.¹⁰). The casting of lots completes the grandiose Crucifixion scene on the right. The onlooker's gaze is automatically drawn to the Descent into Limbo (N.¹¹), which is linked to the scene above by the rocks opening into caves (PLS. III¹⁷, III¹⁹; N.¹²). Despite the division into different scenes the artist has succeeded in

N.⁹ The composition scheme of the crowd streaming out of the city gate and passing below the walls of Jerusalem, and the motif of the soldier threatening the Virgin are derived from Pietro Lorenzetti's Way to Calvary at Assisi (see E. T. DeWald, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, Cambridge, 1930, fig. 49; C. Volpe, *Pietro Lorenzetti ad Assisi*, Milano, 1965, 14, 15). These details are also found in Simone Martini's painting of the same subject in the Louvre (No. 1383; reprod. in van Marle, II, 1924, 243). The figure of Christ looking back as he steps forward in this painting could also have influenced Andrea. At the same time, the two works differ fundamentally, as is shown by the cross which provides a spatial element in Simone's composition, whereas in Andrea's fresco it is strictly two-dimensional.

N.¹⁰ Frau Gertrud Schiller, the author of *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, has kindly confirmed that this scene is traceable neither in literary descriptions nor in figurative art (cf. N.³). It may possibly have been inspired by Passion plays. It is also conceivable that the artist was influenced by Barna's Crucifixion at San Gimignano, in which a horseman stops before a frightened crowd he is about to attack (photo. Soprintendenza, Florence, 105387).

N.¹¹ For the iconography of the Descent into Limbo, see *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. VI, 151 n. 9 and Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, Gütersloh, III, 1971, 64.

N.¹² The section of the fresco above Christ descending into Limbo is damaged. The connection between the Crucifixion and the underlying scene was probably more pronounced. Behind the figure of Christ there must have been

preserving the unity of the wall as a whole. The absence of ornamental borders separating the individual scenes was already noticed by Vasari (N.¹³), and Isermeyer has rightly drawn attention to the artist's skill in planning the wall (N.¹⁴). In panel painting the same idea of surface unity is found in Andrea di Cione's Strozzi altarpiece (N.¹⁵).

The need for crowd scenes in the Crucifixion meant that the artist had to rely on more workshop assistance than in the two other major frescoes. However, the artist was personally responsible for the upper section composed of the figure of Christ and the flying angels (PL. III²). The angels give vent to their grief in varying attitudes and expressions, the most impressive being those to the far left and right. The artist's ability at conveying anguish is also found in the two thieves, particularly in the expression of the bad thief (PLS. III⁸, III¹²). They provide a marked contrast to the serene figure of Christ (PL. III²). Every detail in this part of the fresco is extremely fine in execution, including the salvation and damning of the souls of the good and bad thief.

The two riders entering the Crucifixion scene on the left are most striking and the horse's head in front of them is ingeniously turned to convey a greater sense of depth (PL. III⁹). The three horsemen left of the good thief's cross, with somewhat damaged features, are well set into the composition and finely drawn. This is also true of the two mounted groups on the other side of the same cross (PL. III⁸). The two mounted soldiers flanking the cross of the bad thief prepare threateningly to strike (PL. III¹³). One is surprised to discover to what extent the author of the graceful female figures in the Triumph was capable of dramatic action; at the same time, he never loses his feeling for form and avoids any grotesque exaggeration. The tension is further conveyed by the fleeing crowd of which, however, only the first two figures were actually executed by the artist (N.¹⁶). The varying quality of execution found in the figures is also apparent in the horses. The splendid galloping horse of the armed soldier on the right contrasts with the two horses above the group casting lots (PL. III¹³). These details may also have been inspired by Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco at Assisi.

In the Way to Calvary Andrea Bonaiuti certainly painted the figure of Christ, that of the man in front of Him with a hammer over his shoulder, the two riders entering the gorge and the two figures preceding them (PL. III¹⁴). The other figures in the procession are much more summarily handled. Particularly remarkable in this part of the fresco is the description of the town with the onlooking figures, especially the pair in the tower and the women in the loggias with flower pots on the ledges.

The floating figure of Christ descending into Limbo is typical of the artist (PLS. III¹⁷, III¹⁸), and very different in type from the figures advancing towards Him (PL. III¹⁹). Their small heads lack expression and are monotonously disposed in rows, the last of which forms a straight horizontal. As for the rest of the frescoes, Andrea would have made the sinopia, but the artist responsible for the painting contributed his own style; for example, the King David and Moses in this scene differ greatly from their counterparts in the Triumph (PLS. I⁹, I¹²).

the gate to Limbo, of which there are remains above Adam (PL. III¹⁸); this was already noticed by G. M. Mecatti (see Bibliography under 1737). The iconography is derived from Duccio; the analogous scene of the Maestà in the Cathedral Museum, Siena, also shows Christ stepping over broken door panels, under which a devil has been caught, as he comes forward to greet Adam (reprod. in Cesare Brandi, *Duccio*, Firenze, 1951, 87). There is a link with the Giottesque tradition and that of Pacino di Bonaguida in the opening to Hell beyond Limbo (PL. III¹⁹; for reprints. see C. H. Weigelt, *Giotto*, Stuttgart, 1925, 210; *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. VI, PL. XLIII b).

N.¹³ See Vasari-Milanese, I, 1878, 551-552.

N.¹⁴ See Isermeyer, 1937, 63-64.

N.¹⁵ Reprod. in *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, PL. I.

N.¹⁶ Compare the figure seen from behind listening at the doors in the Pentecost (PL. VI³).

The decorative elements are over-emphasized, see especially the elaborate treatment of hair and beards. This is also apparent in the crowns and in the use of punched haloes (N.¹⁷). The lighter tonality of this scene contrasts with the rest of the fresco. The ugliness of the devils is exaggerated, compared with the caricature-like portrayal of those above the bad thief. The same artist may have been responsible for the two uppermost horsemen to the right of the Crucifixion scene (PL. III¹²); the left rider is similar to one of the bearded men in the upper row of the Limbo scene, and the right rider to Abel holding a lamb (PL. III¹⁹).

In the crowd scenes there are of course great differences in quality, according to how far Andrea's assistants were successful in interpreting his style. The groups clustering around the crosses are so squashed that their disposition and the strongly foreshortened heads do not achieve the desired effect (PLS. III³, III⁹, III¹³). The group of the holy women with St. John is well thought out. The Virgin is contained in her grief, but the execution of the figure is the work of assistants (N.¹⁸). The same applies to the group of soldiers left of the Holy Women (PL. III⁹). Among the most effective figures are the two horsemen flanking the entrance arch to the Corpus Domini Chapel, and the man holding up the sponge on his lance; but the figures immediately to his left are hardly characterized at all (PLS. III³, III⁸).

N.¹⁷ The earliest instance of punched haloes in fresco painting is found in Simone Martini's *Maestà* in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena (see Irene Hueck in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, XIX, 1968, 44). Barna also adopted them in his frescoes in the Collegiata at San Gimignano (photo. Frick Art Reference Library, New York, Sansoni 2290, etc.) In the Spanish Chapel they only occur in the Limbo scene (PL. III¹⁹; see Erling Skaug in *Florentiner Mitteilungen*, XV, 1971, 158 n. 41. This scene was painted by an assistant who was undoubtedly Florentine and not Sienese, as one can infer from the article by Skaug). The unusual technique of the haloes *stamped and adorned in the Sienese fashion in relief upon the intonaco and gilt* was already noticed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1st English ed., II, 1864, 89), although they were mistaken in describing them as *in relief*. The haloes of the four representatives of the Spiritual Sciences in the Triumph have only painted ornamentation (PLS. I⁵, I¹⁶).

N.¹⁸ Perhaps the lack of expression of these figures, justly noticed by Meiss (1951, 97), is to be attributed to workshop intervention (PL. III⁸). The same applies to the group of Holy Women in the Way to Calvary (PL. III¹⁵). Compare the same figures in a Crucifixion panel in an Italian private collection, in which the expression of grief is very powerful but restrained (Pt. II).

FLORENCE

S. MARIA NOVELLA, Chiostro Verde

CAPITOLO OR CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI

FRESCO: *South wall*, Scenes from the life of St. Peter Martyr (d. 1252; PL. IV, N.¹): *in the jamb of the rose-window*, three quatrefoils containing half-length figures of the young Peter Martyr holding a scroll with the opening words of the Creed (PLS. IV¹–IV³ N.²) and two men turning away from him, who allude to the episode in the young saint's life when he came home from school and told his heathen father and uncle that he had just learnt the Creed (N.³); *left, above*, St. Peter Martyr's investiture as a Dominican (PLS. IV⁴–IV⁷; N.⁴); *right, above*, St. Peter Martyr's Sermon (PLS. IV⁸, IV⁹; N.⁵); *left, below*, St. Peter's martyrdom in the presence of Brother Dominic with the saint writing the words *Credo in deum* in his blood on the ground (PL. IV¹⁰; N.⁶); sick people and cripples at the saint's grave (PLS. IV¹¹–IV¹⁴; N.⁷); *right, below*, the saint's posthumous healing of Agatha, a Venetian paralytic (PLS. IV¹⁵–IV¹⁷; N.⁸); the saint appearing posthumously to Rufino of Canapiccio during his illness (PLS. IV¹⁸, IV¹⁹; N.⁹).

For documents, state, history and bibliography, see pp. 76–95.

- N.¹ The scenes have been described as illustrating the life of St. Peter Martyr since Venturi (see Bibliography under 1907). Before then, they had been interpreted in two different ways: either as scenes from the life of St. Dominic (see Vasari 1st and 2nd editions), or as scenes from both the lives of St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, a tradition which goes back to Biliotti (see Bibliography under 1586). The latter was accepted, among others, by Mecatti and Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1st edition; see Bibliography under 1737 and 1864).
- N.² For this legend, see *AA. SS., Aprilis tomus III*, 688. This is definitely not Peter the Apostle, to whom these words were attributed according to an ancient tradition (cf. the pseudo-Augustinian sermon published in Migne, *P. L.*, I, 2188 and the other version in Durandus' *Rationale*, Book IV, Chapter 25). The importance of the Creed for St. Peter Martyr is also shown in the martyrdom scene, where he writes the opening words in his blood (PL. IV¹⁰).
- N.³ For this legend, see *AA. SS., Aprilis tomus III*, 688.
- N.⁴ For this scene, see *AA. SS., Aprilis tomus III*, 688 (cf. Kaftal, 1952, 821, 832).
- N.⁵ Basing himself on Orlandi's publication in *Memorie Domenicane* (LXIII, 1946, 31 et seq.), Kaftal affirms that the saint preached in Piazza S. Maria Novella (1951, 821), but this is not mentioned in *AA. SS.* The scene probably illustrates the saint's sermon in Milan with the miracle of the clouds in the presence of the heretical bishop (see *AA. SS., Aprilis tomus III*, 696 and Tommaso Agni da Lentini, *S. Pietro Martire da Verona, Leggenda*, ed. by S. Orlandi, Firenze, 1952, 18–19). No final conclusion may be reached until this fresco has been restored; but the dramatic rendering of the sky, which seems to be partially repainted, could support this interpretation (see also V. Alce in *Memorie Domenicane*, LXX, 1953, 108).
- N.⁶ For this scene, see *AA. SS., Aprilis tomus III*, 698 (cf. Kaftal, 1952, 821, 832).
- N.⁷ For this scene, see *AA. SS., Aprilis tomus III*, 702 et seq. This sarcophagus, with its decoration of octagons containing figures of virtues and prophets is of interest for the history of Trecento tombs (PL. IV¹⁴; photo. Alinari, 4097). The figure of the prophet in the centre of the lid is damaged. Below, the theological virtues are represented in the three central octagons flanked by Temperance and Fortitude; the two other cardinal virtues Prudence and Justice are free-standing figures at either end.
- N.⁸ For this scene, see *AA. SS., Aprilis tomus III*, 714 (cf. Kaftal, 1952, 825, 832).
- N.⁹ For this scene, see *AA. SS., Aprilis tomus III*, 716 (cf. Kaftal, 1952, 825, 832). For all scenes, see also Tommaso Agni da Lentini, *S. Pietro Martire, Leggenda*, ed. by Stefano Orlandi, Firenze, 1952, 7 et seq.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. PETER MARTYR

In the fresco on the West wall St. Thomas is venerated not only as the principal saint of the Dominican Order, but also as the conqueror of heresy (PL. I¹). Three scenes in the lower tier of the fresco on the East wall illustrate the fight of the Order's three chief saints against false doctrine (PLS. II⁶, II⁸, II¹¹). The entrance wall takes up the same theme (PLS. IV–IV²¹). St. Peter Martyr with his twelve followers known as the *Capitani Quaesitorum Fidei* or *della Fede* was regarded as the keenest fighter against heresy (N.¹). The saint's fervour is illustrated by the Sermon scene to the right of the rose-window in which he confronts the gesticulating crowd, among which is a bishop (PL. IV⁸). Like the Crucifixion wall (PL. III), the scenes on the entrance wall do not follow a precise dogmatic programme. The upper scenes illustrate episodes of St. Peter Martyr's life; those below his death and posthumous miracles.

It is difficult to form an opinion of the frescoes of the North wall in their present state (PL. IV). The damaged strip along the centre of the wall was caused by the erection of a tribune; furthermore, neither the wall, nor the vault section above it (PL. IX) has been restored. Consequently no final conclusions may be drawn with regard to the style (N.²).

Both this wall and that of the Crucifixion opposite are framed by a rounded arch. The order of the scenes reads from the top downwards. The problem of the incorporation of the rose-window was successfully solved by the artist; he included the three figures of the first scene in the quatrefoils of the jamb (PLS. IV¹–IV³), and the second and third scenes on either side of the window (PL. IV). One can tell from the arbitrary way in which the figures have been cut that the scenes extended further down (N.³). It is also evident that the lower scenes have a strip missing along the top; traces survive of the landscapes behind the Martyrdom and Agatha scenes (PLS. IV¹⁰, IV¹⁵). St. Peter Martyr must also have appeared above the latter scene (N.⁴), as in the Rufino episode on the right (PL. IV¹⁸). Traces of flying angels are discernible above the saint's sarcophagus (PL. IV¹¹), which were probably carrying his soul to heaven. We may therefore conclude that the scenes were divided into horizontal sections. The division between the two upper scenes is created by the rose-window, while the symmetrical arrangement of the lower zone is conditioned by the door and two windows. The original appearance of the section above the entrance is uncertain since the gratings of both the lunette and the door are later additions. The painting in the strip between them is barely legible; it may emerge more clearly on restoration, and give evidence of the nature of the original decoration. There are not traces to show how the upper and lower zones of the wall would have been connected. The scenes probably formed part of a unified plan as for the Crucifixion wall. Only very slight traces, if any, are likely to come to light in the area damaged by the tribune, since the latter was set into the wall. But is conceivable that there would have been an intermediate row of scenes illustrating miracles of the saint in the missing area, since there is only one

N.¹ See Del Migliore, 1684, 76. Compare the painting from the Museo del Bigallo (N. 15, reprod. in Antal, fig. 45b) in which the saint is shown with his followers. See also n. 8 below.

N.² We are reserving ourselves the right to re-examine this wall in a later volume once the restoration has been completed. For a further discussion of its state see p. 79.

I am most grateful to Dr. Eve Borsook for having facilitated the photography of the wall.

N.³ The missing parts of the Investiture scene can be reconstructed on the basis of the Apparition at Arles in the Bardi Chapel (reprod. in Curt H. Weigelt, *Giotto*, Stuttgart, 1925, 133).

N.⁴ Compare for example the three figures looking upwards, two of which have their hands joined in thanksgiving.

scene between the two early episodes and the saint's martyrdom. No other fresco cycles of the life of St. Peter Martyr existed in Florence at this date. The fresco on the façade of the Bigallo by Rossello di Jacopo Franchi and Ventura di Moro was painted in 1445 (N.⁵) and represents another of the saint's sermons, this time in the Piazza del Mercato Nuovo, which the Devil in the form of a wild horse tried unsuccessfully to interrupt (N.⁶), and the distribution of the banners to the Compagnia Maggiore of S. Maria (N.⁷). Since these two scenes occur in Trecento panel painting (N.⁸), one may presume that they were also included in the chapter-hall cycle. However, this obviously remains hypothetical.

As the disposition of the scenes on the entrance wall is characteristic of Andrea Bonaiuti, it may be assumed that he was responsible for its design. The ornamental borders along the rounded arch and framing the rose-window are well preserved and are similar to those of the other wall frescoes. The same is true of the architectural details in the two upper scenes. The tondi in the spandrels above St. Peter receiving the habit recall the two medallions in St. Thomas's throne (PLS. IV⁴, IV⁵, I²); in the Sermon the architecture and the figures looking down from loggias decorated with flower-pots remind one of the city of Jerusalem in the Way to Calvary (PLS. IV⁸, III¹⁴; Alinari, 4095). It is likely that the decorative and architectural parts of the frescoes were executed by a group of assistants who specialized in such details. The marked difference in quality of the sarcophagus in the lower section of the wall is probably to be attributed to its heavily restored state (PL. IV¹⁴).

Apart from old repainting, it is also conceivable that the last three scenes in the lower zone were executed in part by an assistant. In the two central scenes the figures are conspicuous for their difference in scale (PLS. IV¹¹, IV¹⁵); they are more voluminous and some have exaggeratedly large heads with hooked noses (PLS. IV¹³, IV¹⁷), which remind one of the Dominican's head in the scene of St. Peter Martyr's investiture (PL. IV⁵).

In the jamb of the rose-window, which was the first part of the wall to have been painted, the half-length figure of the young Peter is close to Andrea's lyrical style. The forceful expressions of his father and uncle in the two other quatrefoils suggest the conflict implied in the representation of these figures (PLS. IV¹–IV³). This method of characterization is also typical of Andrea Bonaiuti.

The scene of St. Peter receiving the habit (PLS. IV⁴–IV⁷) recalls the Apparition at Arles in the Bardi Chapel in S. Croce (cf. N.³), also in the horizontal disposition of the figures. The young Peter is close to other figures by the artist (PL. IV⁵) and the monk on the left in the compartment nearest the rose-window is similar to the kneeling Dominican in the foreground of the Church Militant (PLS. IV⁷, II¹). Although it is necessary to take into account the effect of repainting, the style of these figures as well as that of the praying monk to the left in the central compartment (PL. IV⁵) indicates that Andrea could have painted them. The composition of the Sermon (PLS. IV⁸, IV⁹) is also skillfully conceived, but the actual execution seems to have been left mostly to assistants, possibly with the exception of the principal figure and those of the young girl looking down from the balcony to the right (PL. IV⁹) and

N.⁵ See Poggi in *Rivista d'Arte*, II, 1904, 203.

N.⁶ The missing section of the fresco, destroyed by the erection of the tribune, would have been appropriate for the scene with the horse leaping over the crowd (cf. the same scene by Sano di Pietro in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, No. 141; reprod. in Kaftal, 1952, fig. 934).

N.⁷ For photographs of the Sermon after restoration, see Soprintendenza, Nos. 105473, 105464 (detail); for the Distribution of the Banners, Nos. 105500, 105501 (sinopia). For both frescoes, see *Mostra di affreschi staccati*, Forte di Belvedere, Firenze, 1957, 64, No. 80; 30, Nos. 10–11.

N.⁸ For the Sermon by Bernardo Daddi, see *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. III, PL. VIII² and Vol. VIII, p. 202; for the Distribution of the Banners by the Master of the Bigallo Banderuole, see Sec. IV, volume in preparation, and C. Ricci in *Rivista d'Arte*, II, 1904, 220.

such figures in the crowd as the bishop and the bearded man beside him. The quality of the left-hand group is on the whole superior to that of the group right of the pulpit, where the figures have either been heavily repainted or copied from the other frescoes; for example, the two figures screening their eyes seem to be weaker versions of the two similar figures in the Ascension above, also unrestored (PLS. IX⁴, IX⁶). The strange head-gear of some of these figures is found nowhere else in the chapter-hall. But, above all, the figures are much more crowded together than, for instance, in the similar scene in the Church Militant (PL. II⁸).

According to the legend, the young St. Peter received the habit from St. Dominic at Bologna. Here St. Dominic does not have the same features as in the Church Militant (PLS. II⁶, II¹⁶), but, as far as it is possible to judge without a scaffolding, the face seems to have been repainted (PL. IV⁵). The restoration of the entrance wall will throw light on this point, and also on such details as the church tower (PL. IV⁴) which is similar to that of S. Maria Novella but seems unconnected to the church and lacks Andrea's usual treatment of architectural detail. This campanile may well also prove to be an addition by Veracini (cf. the discussion of the campanile in the Church Militant, p. 32 n. 1).

The lower scenes are symmetrically arranged with the two narrower frescoes at either side. The space of the Martyrdom scene is extremely limited and the artist has again ingeniously made use of the gorge motif already present in the Way to Calvary to overcome this problem (PLS. III¹⁴, IV¹⁰). The emphasis is not on the actual martyrdom, but on the saint who is shown writing the first words of the Creed on the ground with his blood. As in the Legend, the Creed is represented as the factor governing the beginning and end of his life (PLS. IV¹, IV¹⁰). His features are the same as in the Paradise (PL. II²⁵). The executioner and his companions recall the figure types in the Crucifixion (PL. III⁹). The Dominican present at St. Peter's martyrdom may be compared to the Dominican in the Church Militant below the enthroned bishop (PL. II¹). Except for the two right-hand soldiers, all the figures in this scene will probably prove to be by Andrea himself once they have been restored.

The Healing of Rufino is the only scene that takes place in a secular setting (PLS. IV¹⁸, IV¹⁹). Although the disposition of the figures around the bed and the placing of the column could have conveyed an impression of depth, the artist preferred to follow the general scheme of the frescoes, arranging the figures in vertical sections. The saint's appearance above and the consequent vertical emphasis given by the figures makes the narrowness of the room less noticeable. The figure seen from behind with her upraised arm provides the link with the apparition of St. Peter Martyr above; she has the same function as the figure next to St. Dominic in the Church Militant (PL. II⁶). The Rufino scene is typical of Andrea's style: Rufino's strong profile, the graceful figure of the woman looking upwards, the boy, the features of the woman receiving his gifts, and the finely drawn hands are all characteristic of the artist. The female types, for instance the young woman behind Rufino's bed, recall the virtues and female allegories in the Triumph (PL. I¹⁴). On the other hand, the folds of Rufino's shirt are unusual for the artist.

While in the two outer scenes there is an attempt to create a sense of depth, the two inner frescoes are conceived two-dimensionally (PLS. IV¹¹, IV¹⁵). The tomb scene is so crowded that it gives an impression of confusion and restlessness. In both scenes the figures are unusually tall and voluminous; they come closest to Andrea's later style represented by the Camposanto frescoes at Pisa (Pt. II). The rather coarse execution is probably to be attributed to later restorations. The lack of precision in the drawing is most apparent in the sarcophagus. After the restoration many elements of Andrea's style will probably emerge in the groups of women and in the children. This also applies to the Dominican with raised arms in the Agatha scene (PL. IV¹⁵) and above all to Agatha's intense expression (PL. IV¹⁶). One of the most vivid impressions originally produced by the chapter-hall must have been the impact of

this scene in which strength is slowly returning to Agatha's paralysed limbs. The standing Dominican to the right of this scene, who may be a portrait of one of the priors of S. Maria Novella, may turn out to be of particularly fine quality on restoration (PL. IV¹⁷; N.⁹). This figure and the monk beside him form a group similar to that of the figure identified as Andrea Bonaiuti and the man next to him in the Church Militant (PL. II⁴). One of the finest figures, seemingly free of repaint, is the seated cripple in the Tomb scene (PL. IV¹²).

N.⁹ For portraits in the St. Peter Martyr cycle see p. 40 n. 21. The Dominican on the right in the Investiture scene may also be a portrait (PL. IV⁵).

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

VAULT

ANDREA BONAIUTI (*assisted*)

FLORENCE

S. MARIA NOVELLA, Chiostro Verde

CAPITOLO OR CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI

VAULT, *West segment*: Pentecost (PL. VI; N.)

For documents, state, history and bibliography, see pp. 76–95.

-
- N. For the iconography of the Pentecost in general, see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, 74 n. 2; for that adopted in the Spanish Chapel, see Sec. IV, Vol. III, 41 n. 16. Compare also, for the latter, the miniature by Silvestro dei Gherarducci in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 3045 (initial S with the Descent of the Holy Spirit; museum photo., 79525; see also Meiss, 1951, 33, 33 n. 81), and two fragments of an early fifteenth-century drawing in the Janos Scholz Collection in New York (reprod. in Degenhart-Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen*, Berlin, 1968, I, 2; 281, No. 184; I, 4; pl. 205a).

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

PENTECOST

The significance of the Pentecost above the Triumph has already been discussed (N.¹). The artist's interpretation of this scene is most personal and original. The composition is divided horizontally into two parts (PLS. VI–VI⁶): above, in the open loggia of a palace is the Miracle of the Tongues of Fire combined with St. Peter's Pentecost Sermon (N.²). The Virgin is in the centre surrounded by the apostles, while St. Peter stands on the left delivering his sermon. The emphasis is on the Madonna at the centre and on the asymmetrically placed figure of St. Peter to the left (N.³). Outside the palace door the crowd of *devout men, out of every nation under heaven*, as they are termed in the New Testament is characterized by oriental garments and by the presence of a moor (N.⁴). The artist has succeeded in evoking the astonishment and wonder of the crowd (N.⁵).

The scheme of the fresco goes back to the Giottesque panel in the National Gallery in London, in which the two episodes appear together for the first time in early Italian painting (N.⁶). The connection between the two works is also apparent in the figures listening at the door, to which, however, Andrea has given added emphasis. The fact that Andrea drew his inspiration from the Giottesque circle is confirmed by Taddeo Gaddi's panel from the sacristy-cupboard in S. Croce, now in the Berlin-Dahlem Gallery, in which the Virgin is also surrounded by the apostles (N.⁷). In their arrangement these figures remind one of the Investiture of St. Peter Martyr (PL. IV⁴), while those in the lower part recall the apostles in the Ascension (PL. IX); in both the latter the figures are subdivided into smaller groups and articulated in depth (N.⁸). The crowd's amazement in the Pentecost is reflected in the broken symmetry. Particularly effective is the rhythmic movement of the two central figures (PL. VI³) whose contrasting attitudes balance each other.

Although the upper part of this scene is clearly reminiscent of Andrea's style, the monotony of the figure types and of their execution points to the collaboration of an assistant. The principal figures in this scene, the Madonna, St. Peter and St. Andrew, are by the same hand that was shortly to execute the corresponding figures in the Ascension; this is visible despite the fact that the latter have not yet been cleaned (PLS. VI², IX³). St. Bartholomew on the extreme right conforms to the same type as in the Navicella (PLS. VI², VII³), also the figures

N.¹ See p. 27. For the iconography of the scene, see p. 57 n.

N.² See Acts, II, 14 et seq.

N.³ The Orcagnesque collaborator on the S. Pier Maggiore altarpiece was obviously faced with the same problem. He placed both the Virgin and St. Peter in the centre, but nor was this a very successful solution (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. III, PL. III²²).

N.⁴ For the exotic figures in the Pentecost, see the article by Iris Origo, who connects the appearance of such figures in later Trecento painting with the importation of slaves into Tuscany. She does not refer specifically to Andrea Bonaiuti's frescoes, but mentions the decree of 1363 according to which *the importation of domestic slaves from the east, on a large scale, was again sanctioned in Tuscany* (in *Speculum*, XXX, 1955, 321 et seq.).

N.⁵ *Suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house* (Acts, II, 2).

N.⁶ London, National Gallery, No. 5360. Here, however, there are only three figures in the lower part (reprod. in *National Gallery Catalogues. Earlier Italian Schools. Plates*, London, I, 1953, 182). In the upper part the Madonna is not included among the apostles.

N.⁷ Reprod. in *Staatl. Museen, Berlin. Die Gemäldegalerie. Die italienischen Meister 13.–15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1930, 56, No. 1073.

N.⁸ Compare, for instance, the function of the figure seen from behind in the Pentecost with that on the right in the Ascension (PLS. VI⁵, IX⁷).

seen from behind with their hair parted down to the nape are common to both scenes (PLS. VI², VII³). There is a marked difference between the upper and lower half of the Pentecost scene (PLS. VI³–VI⁵), where there is another hand at work—clearly distinguishable from that responsible for the figures of the Virgin and the apostles. In the lower part, the figures are more elongated and have proportionately smaller heads, except for the figure standing in front of the moor and the third man from the right who have broader features similar to those found in the Resurrection (PLS. VI⁴, VI⁵, VIII⁵, VIII⁷). The pig-tailed man listening at the door is the most original figure in the composition and his attitude recalls that of the man in front of the crowd at the foot of the bad thief's cross in the Crucifixion (PLS. VI³, III¹³). The figure behind the latter has similar proportions to those of the figures in the lower part of the Pentecost fresco and the hair is treated in the same way. Also the man running away in the Crucifixion group (first figure on the left) is similar in the movement of his body to the man with a turban right of the door (PLS. III¹³, VI⁵). This section of the Crucifixion differs in style from the rest of the composition. In the lower left-hand section of the Pentecost a meticulous but very timid underdrawing has come to light which has nothing in common with what is visible of Andrea's drawing in the Triumph and Ascension (PLS. VI⁴, I⁷, IX⁴, IX⁶).

To conclude, there is a point of historical interest. Niels von Holst has suggested that the pig-tailed figure personifies the Empire of Peking and the sumptuously dressed man to his right that of Tabriz (N.⁹; PL. VI³).

Crowe and Cavalcaselle's idea that Taddeo Gaddi was responsible for the design of the vault frescoes is comprehensible (N.¹⁰), especially in connection with this scene. There are obvious affinities, as we have already observed; but in a work by Taddeo Gaddi the spatial and plastic values would have received far greater emphasis.

N.⁹ Dr. N. von Holst kindly allowed me to study his article „Zur Ikonographie des Pfingstbildes in der Spanischen Kapelle“ before it was published in *Florentiner Mitteilungen* (XVI, 1972, 261 ff.).

N.¹⁰ See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1st English ed., I, 1864, 374.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (*assisted*)

FLORENCE

S. MARIA NOVELLA, Chiostro Verde

CAPITOLO OR CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI

VAULT, *East segment*: Navicella (PL. VII; N.)

For documents, state, history and bibliography, see pp. 76–95.

-
- N. See Matthew, XIV, 28 et seq. For the iconography of the Navicella, see W. Paeseler in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, V, 1941, 49–162 (cf. *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, 34, 34 n. 7) and Degenhart-Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen*, Berlin, 1968, I, 2; 277–281, Nos. 181–183; I, 4; pls. 203–204.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

NAVICELLA

We have already alluded to the theme linking the Navicella to the East wall (PLS. VII–VII⁷; N.¹). As in the case of the Ascension, the original impression of the fresco has been altered by subsequent restorations, here only partially removed in order not to disturb the unity of the vault as a whole. This applies especially to the painting of the sky, sea and the sail (N.²).

In this fresco the artist has again divided the composition into two horizontal sections, basing himself on the prototype of Giotto's Navicella in St. Peter's, Rome. Andrea has kept to the general scheme of the mosaic and only modified the composition by lowering the angler and the group of Christ and St. Peter to fit the corners of the segment. The source for Andrea's fresco is confirmed by a number of motifs that are borrowed directly from the mosaic (N.³): see, in particular, the figure of the apostle seen from behind pulling up the sail in the stern of the boat, the terror-stricken apostle covering his face with his hands (N.⁴), and the apostle in the bow with his arms raised in astonishment, besides the angler and the wind gods (N.⁵). Andrea's arrangement of the figures into more or less symmetrical groups is most convincing and far from monotonous; their attitudes are extremely natural and they manage to convey an impression of surrounding space. Although the motif of Christ stretching out his hand to St. Peter is essentially from Giotto, Andrea substituted the frontal figure of Christ of the Giottoesque composition with a solution similar to that adopted in Andrea di Cione's predella scene in the Strozzi Chapel (N.⁶). St. Peter, walking on the waves, lays his hands lightly on Christ's arm and Christ draws the apostle towards him with his hand almost hidden from view (PL. VII⁵). The notable distance between them accentuates the miraculous character of this scene.

Both the style and composition of this fresco are typical of the artist. One of the finest figures is that of St. Peter who is similar to the St. Peter in the Ascension in execution and attitude (PLS. VII⁵, IX⁴); but in the Navicella his features are more expressive and the cleaned state of the fresco has brought to light their full intensity. In his facial type and expression St. Peter recalls other figures such as that of Job in the Triumph of St. Thomas (PL. I⁹). Characteristic of the artist are the deep set eyes, and the lines between the protruding eyebrows (PL. I¹³). The links with the Ascension are strengthened by similarities between the apostles in both scenes (N.⁷): the helmsman has the physiognomical characteristics already noticed above, which reappear in the group of apostles on the left in the Ascension (PLS. VII³, IX⁴); the two frontally-posed apostles to the helmsman's left are by the same hand as

N.¹ For information on the iconography of this scene, see p. 61 n., and for the connection with the fresco below, see p. 36.

N.² See p. 82.

N.³ For these comparisons see Berretta's facsimile of 1628 (published by W. Paeseler in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, V, 1941, 101, fig. 82) and the early fifteenth-century drawing in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 19. 76. 2; reprod. in Degenhart-Schmitt, *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300–1450*, Berlin, 1–4, pl. 203a).

N.⁴ In Andrea's composition, however, this figure is in the right-hand part of the boat.

N.⁵ Compare the wind-god on the left blowing through a horn, a detail which confirms the prototype of Giotto's fresco.

N.⁶ However, the rhythmical surface movement of Andrea di Cione's predella has been lost in the transposition (see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, PL. I²¹).

N.⁷ One cannot overlook the fact that the Ascension is still heavily restored; but in the examples that we have mentioned the repainting appears less pronounced.

the first and fourth apostle in the left group of the Ascension; Christ's features in both scenes are also very similar, if one makes allowances for the fact that the Ascension still remains to be restored (PLS. VII⁵, IX²). The figure of the angler is particularly fine not only in the ease and elegance of his pose but also in the accomplished drawing of his hat and dress; the plasticity of this figure is unparalleled in the rest of the fresco (PL. VII⁶). In its general conception the angler is comparable to similar figures in the frescoes of the Ranieri Cycle by Antonio Veneziano (N.⁸). The salmon-pink tunic is of a tonality also found in Antonio's works. This connection is all the more probable since the artist may well have collaborated on the Ascension (N.⁹).

N.⁸ Photographs Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome, C 3410, C 3424. While making these comparisons one must bear in mind that Antonio Veneziano's Pisa frescoes date from 1384-86. He did not enrol in the *Arte dei Medici e Speziali* in Florence until 1374, therefore his collaboration in the Spanish Chapel must date from early in his career as an artist. The theory of his activity in the Spanish Chapel is made more plausible by the fact that he is documented as having collaborated with Andrea Vanni on the painting of the vault of Siena cathedral in 1370 (see Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, Siena, I, 1854, 305). I would like to thank Prof. Zeri for expressing his agreement with this theory.

N.⁹ See p. 70, p. 71 n. 6.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (*assisted*)

FLORENCE

S. MARIA NOVELLA, Chiostro Verde

CAPITOLO OR CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI

VAULT, *North segment*: Resurrection (N.¹) with the Three Maries at the Tomb (N.²) and Noli me tangere (PL. VIII; N.³).

For documents, state, history and bibliography, see pp. 76–95.

N.¹ The earliest representations of the Resurrection in Italian art show Christ either climbing out of the tomb or standing inside it (see *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. V, 110 n. 15; PL. XXV⁸), or standing on the closed lid in a frontal position (cf. Cavallini school, fresco, in S. Maria di Donna Regina, Naples, reprod. in G. Chierici, *Il restauro della chiesa S. Maria di Donnaregina a Napoli*, 1934, pl. XXXIII; two miniatures from Pacino di Bonaguida's workshop, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge and Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, reprod. in *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. II, Pt. I, PL. X; Pt. II, ADD. PL. XI).

Other examples from Pacino's workshop clearly prefigure the solution offered by Andrea Bonaiuti in this fresco, for instance the Resurrection in Piteglio (S. Maria Assunta; *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. VI, PL. LXIII^b) and particularly that in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Ms. 795; *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. VI, PL. LXIV^c) where Christ is shown stepping up from the lid of the closed tomb.

In the second half of the century the two latter versions were modified in the sense that Christ was represented hovering above the tomb. For an example of Christ's hieratic, frontal pose, see the Orcagnesque panel of Jacopo di Cione's altarpiece from S. Pier Maggiore in the National Gallery in London (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, PL. III¹⁸) and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini's fresco in S. Croce (reprod. in van Marle, III, 1924, 615). The turning movement of Christ's body as he rises from the tomb in the Spanish Chapel may be regarded as a further development of the motif present in the Pierpont Morgan miniature cited above. The two versions of this motif must have developed in parallel to representations of the Ascension (for the Ascension, see p. 69 n.). The combination here of the Resurrection with the two other scenes is most unusual for the Trecento. An earlier example, in which the scenes are divided into two frescoes, exists in S. Maria di Donna Regina in Naples by the school of Cavallini (reprod. in Chierici, op. cit., 1934, pls. XXXIII, XXXIV) and a later example in Niccolò di Gerini's fresco of 1392 in S. Francesco at Pisa (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, volume in preparation; see also Sec. IV, Vol. II, PL. XXXVI where the scene is combined with the Three Maries at the Tomb only). The pair in the left corner of the Spanish Chapel fresco have no relation to the general iconography (cf. Sandberg-Vavalà, *Studies in the Florentine Churches*, Part I, Florence, 1959, 193).

The Resurrection scene in the sacristy-cupboard quatrefoil by Taddeo Gaddi, in which Christ emerges from a rock tomb and advances towards the spectator, belongs to another tradition (reprod. in Sinibaldi-Brunetti, 1943, 434).

For the iconography of the Resurrection in general, see H. Schrade, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, Berlin, 1932.

N.² For the red face, hands and feet of the left angel, see *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. VII, 62 n. 3.

N.³ In Western civilization of the later Middle Ages, representations of the Noli me tangere were based on the gospel of St. John (XX, 14–17). The Eastern tradition preferred the theme of Christ appearing to the two Maries according to the text of Matthew (XXVIII, 9–10), and this became common to both civilizations in the Carolingian era. The Noli me tangere was represented in two different ways: In the first, Christ turns back towards the standing Magdalen who bends forward as he walks away from her (München, Staatsbibliothek, the so-called Gospel of Otto III, c. 1000; reprod. in Georg Leidinger, *Das sogenannte Evangelarium Ottos III*, München, 1913, pl. 51). In the second version, the Magdalen kneels as Christ turns back towards her (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 54, f. 19v; Psalter from a Cistercian monastery in the diocese of Basle, c. 1260; reprod. in Hanns Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau*, Berlin, II, 1936, fig. 573). This became the standard version in Italian art of the thirteenth century (Magdalen Master, Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, No. 8466; reprod. in Offner, *Yale Primitives*, 1927, fig. 4), and remained virtually unchanged in the early fourteenth century (see Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel; reprod. in Curt H. Weigelt, *Giotto*, Stuttgart, 1925, 65).

This scheme was repeated in the Magdalen Chapel at Assisi and in the fragmentary fresco in the chapel dedicated to the saint in the Bargello, both by Giottesque masters (reprod. in Curt H. Weigelt, *op. cit.*, 65 and photo. Alinari-Brogi, 19779). The same formula was adopted by the Master of the Fabriano Altarpiece, in several works (see, for instance, the predella panel in the collection of Mme. Feron-Stoclet, Brussels; reprod. in *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. V, PL. XLVI³), and by Andrea Bonaiuti himself in a tabernacle wing in an Italian private collection (Pt. II). Very similar to the Fabriano version is the Orcagnesque panel of the second half of the fourteenth century in the National Gallery, London, No. 3894 (reprod. in *National Gallery Catalogues, Earlier Italian Schools*, Plates, London, II, 1953, 327). In the later fresco in S. Trinita, the Fabriano Master introduced a dramatic interpretation of the subject into Florentine painting (*Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. VIII, PL. XLVII). In a smaller group of scenes of the *Noli me tangere* in Florentine Trecento painting Christ faces the Magdalen as in Pacino di Buonaguida's Tree of Life (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, No. 8459; here the positions of the two figures are inverted for compositional reasons; *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. II, Pt. I, PL. II^{13b}), and in Taddeo Gaddi's panel from the S. Croce sacristy-cupboard in the Florentine Academy, No. 8592 (reprod. in Sinibaldi-Brunetti, 1943, fig. 137 n.). The addition of two women kneeling behind the Magdalen is also unusual in Gaddi's composition; they must be the two other Maries as in Niccolò di Pietro Gerini's fresco in S. Francesco at Pisa (photo. Alinari-Brogi, Florence, 19349). A further version of the subject by the Fabriano Master occurs in a tabernacle wing in Lord Methuen's collection (*Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. V, PL. XLVII). The latter composition combines the two principal schemes: Christ is shown beside the kneeling Magdalen in an almost frontal pose and looks down at her (for this type, see also the illumination by Pacino di Buonaguida in the Pierpont Morgan Library, No. 643; *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. II, Pt. I, PL. VIII⁹). Andrea Bonaiuti adopted this scheme and the Rinuccini Master repeated it in his frescoes in the Rinuccini Chapel, S. Croce, Florence. Here, as in Pacino's representation, Christ stands to the Magdalen's left, again for reasons of space (photo. Soprintendenza, Florence, 116686).

In Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel, Christ carries the standard of the Resurrection (see also the above-cited illumination at Besançon). For this attribute in the second half of the fourteenth century, compare the frescoes by Andrea Bonaiuti and the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel. In Lord Methuen's panel and that in the National Gallery the gospel is interpreted literally (John, XX, 15): Christ appears as a gardener carrying a hoe (see also Niccolò di Pietro Gerini's fresco in S. Francesco, Pisa). The motif of the hoe was already widely used in German miniature painting (see Arthur Haseloff, *Eine thüringisch-sächsische Malerschule des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Strassburg, 1897, 168), who lists various examples.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

RESURRECTION

The unusual combination of the Resurrection with the scenes of the Three Maries at the tomb and the Noli me tangere is probably due to the fact that the artist had such an extensive area at his disposal (PLS. VIII–VIII⁸; N.¹). Like all the other scenes, the composition is conceived in vertical bands creating a basically planimetric effect but not devoid of a sense of depth. In its harmony and balance this is one of the most exceptional representations of the Resurrection in Trecento painting and one of Andrea's most masterly achievements in the Spanish Chapel. The heavenly sphere is sharply differentiated from the earthly one and Christ is shown for the first time in Florentine Trecento representations of the Resurrection as hovering over his tomb (N.²). He is surrounded by a mandorla which in turn is framed by the apex of the ornamental border and the sloping hills to either side. The upward-surging movement of the figure is set off by the breadth of the horizon behind. The division between the earthly and heavenly zones is by no means schematic. The open tomb, as well as the heads of the angels, the trees and castle in the background provide links between the two spheres (N.³). The three Maries approaching the tomb balance the Noli me tangere on the other side. The motif of the couple in the left corner, with the woman picking fruit, repeats that in the Church Militant; in the corresponding position on the opposite side are the remains of a spring (the fountain of Paradise?). This fresco is clearly the prototype for the rather weak Nardesque Resurrection in the Chioostro dei Morti of S. Maria Novella (N.⁴). Now that the later repainting has been removed Andrea's fresco has once more its original force (N.⁵). Giotto's Noli me tangere in the Arena Chapel was the standard scheme for this scene in the Trecento (N.⁶). In his composition the Magdalen has to stretch her arm full length to cover the distance between her and Christ. In Andrea's arrangement, on the contrary, the two figures, instead of being distinct, are enclosed in a triangle. The Magdalen reaches towards Christ with a yearning conveyed by the movement of her body and her outstretched hands, while Christ withstands her with a gesture which is also one of blessing. The artist conveys the psychological content of this scene with great sensitivity, which becomes all the more apparent on comparing it with the same scene by the Master of the Lehman Crucifixion in the National Gallery in London, which must have been inspired by this fresco (N.⁷).

Not only the general composition but every detail must have been thought out by the artist himself. The figure of Christ rising from the tomb, the left angel and the reclining soldier

N.¹ Compare for this and the following observations p. 65 n. 1. The iconographical connection between these two scenes is easy to explain; in the Arena Chapel, for instance, they replace the Resurrection (reprod. in C. H. Weigelt, *Giotto*, Stuttgart, 1925, 65).

N.² A precedent for this type of Resurrection is to be found in the panel by Taddeo Gaddi in the Florentine Academy (No. 8591) in which Christ stands on the closed tomb about to ascend (reprod. in Sinibaldi-Brunetti, 1943, 434, fig. 137 m; compare also the miniature in the Pierpont Morgan Library mentioned on p. 64. n. 1).

N.³ This occurs in the fresco by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini in the sacristy of S. Croce. Andrea's composition also influenced the small panel belonging to the S. Pier Maggiore Altarpiece in which, however, the closed tomb creates a far sharper division (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. III, PL. III¹⁸).

N.⁴ *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. II, PL. XXXVI.

N.⁵ Compare, for instance, PL. VIII with the Alinari photo. no. 4090.

N.⁶ Compare for this and the following observations, p. 65 n. 3.

N.⁷ This master is named after the Crucifixion in the Lehman Collection which the owner recently left to the Metropolitan Museum (reprod. in Robert Lehman, *The Philip Lehman Collection*, New York, Paris, 1928, pl. VI).

in the left foreground (superior in quality to his counterpart on the right) must be by his hand (PLS. VIII², VIII³, VIII⁴, VIII⁶). The artist's interest in foreshortening revealed in the soldier on the left, returns again later in the upward looking figures standing beneath the crosses of Christ and the good thief in the Crucifixion (PLS. III³, III⁸). The execution of the first Mary on the left may also be autograph since she closely resembles the Madonna in the early polyp-tych in the National Gallery in London (No. 5115; reprod. in Pt. II, N.⁸). Also the two figures in the left corner seem to be by Andrea (PL. VIII⁸).

Like the Pentecost this was one of the first scenes in the chapel to be painted. It combines a mixture of various influences, also of Siennese origin. This is evident in the resurrected Christ, who is similar to the Christ descending into Limbo, in the first Mary on the left, and in the features of the left angel (PLS. VIII², VIII⁵, VIII³). The head of the soldier lying on the left is almost identical in position and foreshortening to that of the soldier in the right background of Pietro Lorenzetti's Resurrection in the Lower Church of S. Francesco at Assisi (N.⁹). Florentine influences, particularly Giottesque plasticity, are recognizable in the right angel. His head has the broader proportions found in the two other Maries, in the Magdalen and in the third figure from the right in the lower left group of the Pentecost (PLS. VIII³, VIII⁷, VI⁴), all of which recall Bernardo Daddi's style (N.¹⁰). The attitude of the soldier lying in the left foreground is derived from Taddeo Gaddi's small panel of the Resurrection from the sacristy-cupboard in S. Croce (N.¹¹). The soft folds of Christ's robe in the *Noli me tangere* come close to Nardo di Cione's style (N.¹²).

The fact that for the Resurrection, Pentecost and Navicella scenes Andrea drew inspiration from other artists shows how sensitive he was to the art of his older contemporaries. As for the lower part of the Pentecost, assistants probably collaborated on the Resurrection and they would have been allowed relative freedom since the differences in style would not have been perceptible from a distance.

N.⁸ Published by Meiss, 1951, pl. 63.

N.⁹ For Lorenzetti's fresco, cf. E. T. DeWald, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, Cambridge, 1930, fig. 55; for the detail of the head, see photo. De Giovanni, Assisi, 70/1.

N.¹⁰ Compare the heads of the two Maries on the right with the angel heads in the Daddesque painting in S. Giorgio a Ruballa (*Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. IV, PL. XX^{4,5}).

N.¹¹ Florence, Academy, No. 8591; reprod. in Sinibaldi-Brunetti, 1943, fig. 137 m.

N.¹² See *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. II, PL. XIV^b.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (*assisted*)

FLORENCE

S. MARIA NOVELLA, Chiostro Verde

CAPITOLO OR CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI

VAULT, *South segment*: Ascension (PL. IX; N.)

For documents, state, history and bibliography, see pp. 76–95.

-
- N. For the iconography of the Ascension, see *Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. VI, 138 n. 3. This fresco is based on the type of Ascension iconography there referred to as Syrian, of which the earliest examples in the Florentine Trecento are by Pacino di Bonaguida and his workshop. Andrea Bonaiuti continued this tradition in the second half of the century and after him other artists such as Jacopo di Cione (*assisted*; London, National Gallery, No. 577; *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. III, PL. III²¹); Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Pisa, S. Francesco, dated 1392 (reprod. in van Marle, III, 1924, 621); an assistant of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Florence, S. Croce, sacristy (photo. Alinari, 3915); Agnolo Gaddi, Florence, S. Miniato (reprod. in van Marle, III, 1924, 558). For the two angels in white on either side of the apostles, see Acts, I, 10–11.

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

ASCENSION

The Ascension, like the entrance wall, still remains to be restored, therefore what has been said for the scenes from the life of St. Peter Martyr also applies here (PLS. IX–IX⁷). The best preserved part of the fresco is the lower section with the apostles.

There is no direct connection between the Ascension (N.¹) and the scenes of the entrance wall; rather it is related to the sequence of Passion scenes, of which it forms the conclusion: Way to Calvary—Crucifixion—Descent into Limbo—Resurrection—Noli me tangere—Ascension.

Once again, the composition is divided into a heavenly and an earthly sphere, here combined with a strong vertical axis at the centre. The Madonna is not included in one of the apostle groups (N.²), but isolated from them and seen frontally like the ascending figure of Christ above her. The apostles form two groups, one on either side, flanked by two standing angels. The arrangement of the composition is characteristic of the artist, but the definition of the space is unusually accentuated: see the last apostle on the left turned towards the angel beside him or the very beautiful corresponding figure on the right seen from behind. The accentuated spaciousness here, as in the scene of the Resurrection, may be accounted for by the relatively large surface at the artist's disposal for the number of figures.

Andrea's style is most apparent in the ascending Christ and in the angels hovering around him, which recall those in the rose-window of S. Maria Novella (see Pt. II; N.³). Judging from the present state of the upper half of the fresco one would be inclined to consider the execution as being largely by assistants (N.⁴); but as we have seen from the frescoes that have been restored their appearance was often altered by coarse repainting (this is probably true of the two uppermost pairs of angels flanking Christ and the six angels at his feet; PL. IX¹). The heavy outlines of Christ's figure would probably also disappear on cleaning and reveal a figure similar to that of Christ in the Noli me tangere (PLS. IX², VIII⁷); the drapery style and pose of the apostle beside St. Peter may prove to be very similar to those of the Magdalen in the same scene (PLS. IX³, VIII⁷). The third figure from the right in the left group of apostles reminds one of St. John in the Triumph of St. Thomas (PLS. IX⁴, I⁹); and the first apostle in the right hand group of the Prophet Job (PLS. IX⁶, I⁹). The features of St. Peter resemble those of other male figures in the same fresco (PL. IX⁴). The Madonna has the same inspired expression characterizing, for instance, St. Thomas Aquinas (PLS. IX³, I²). Some of the figures in the Ascension are of a different, more plastic style; for example, the apostle next to St. Peter and the one seen from behind in the right group with his beautifully-draped mantle (PLS. IX³, IX⁷). The apostle shading his eyes in the right group is unusual for Andrea, also in the under-drawing which, like that of the figure next to St. Peter, bears no resemblance to that of the heretics in the Triumph (PLS. IX⁶, IX⁴, I⁷). This may be attributable to the collaboration of the young Antonio Veneziano, as has already been suggested for the Navicella fresco (PL. VII⁶; N.⁵). All the figures seen from behind in the Ascension are, in fact, similar to

N.¹ For the iconography of the scene, see p. 69 n.

N.² For this type compare the Ascension in the S. Pier Maggiore altarpiece in the National Gallery, London (No. 577; *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. III, PL. III²¹).

N.³ Published by Toesca in *Bollettino d'Arte*, XIV, 1920, between pp. 4 and 5.

N.⁴ See Bibliography under Meiss, 1951, who, however, considers the design to be most likely by Andrea's own hand.

N.⁵ See p. 63, 63 n. 9.

those in the Altenburg panels by Antonio Veneziano (N.⁶). Any final conclusions must necessarily await the restoration of the Ascension, when it will be possible to see the original colours.

N.⁶ Reprod. in Oertel, Altenburg, 1961, pl. 44. Crowe and Cavalcaselle were the first to suggest the possibility of Antonio Veneziano's participation in the execution of the three other vault frescoes (1st English ed., I, 1864, 374). Suida corroborated this idea (in *Repertorium*, XXXI, 1908, 210). Crowe and Cavalcaselle make no mention of the Ascension in this context and attribute it to *another and less able hand* and declare it to be the *lowest of the series in merit* (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, op. cit., I, 1864, 374, 488 n. 2). Meiss also regards this fresco as *painted entirely by an assistant* (1951, 94 n. 1), with which opinion we do not agree.

FLORENCE

S. MARIA NOVELLA, Chiostro Verde

CAPITOLO OR CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI

ORNAMENTAL BORDERS OF THE FRESCOES (N.): Broad ornamental bands enclosing quatrefoils surround all the frescoes (altar and entrance wall: seven quatrefoils; two side walls: five; vaults: seven). The quatrefoils contain half-length figures holding scrolls inscribed with Biblical quotations. The four elongated quatrefoils contain three-quarter length figures. At the centre of the Triumph band is a half-length figure of Christ; in the corresponding position above the Crucifixion, the pelican with its young. At the apex of the vault is the Lamb. Below the wall frescoes is an ornamental border composed of large medallions.

N. The texts on the scrolls held by the figures in the ornamental bands all refer to the scene they surround and are taken from the following passages:

GLORIFICATION OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, *upper left*, Job, XXVIII, 11; *lower left*, Job, XII, 13; *upper right*, Psalm, LXXV, 5; *lower right*, Eccli., XXV, 7

CRUCIFIXION *upper left*, Gal., III, 1, *centre left*, Heb., XII, 2, *lower left*, Isa., LIII, 5, *upper right*, I Cor., I, 23; *centre right*, Isa., XXXVIII, 14 and II Macc., VI, 30; *lower right*, Mat., XXVII, 35

CHURCH MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT, *centre*, Rev., XIX, 9; *upper left*, John, V, 35; *lower left*, Psalm, CXLIX, 9, *upper right*, Dan., III, 4, *lower right*, Eccli., I, 6

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. PETER MARTYR, *centre*, Eccli., IV, 33; *upper left*, II Chron., XXXIV, 3; *centre left*, II Tim., II, 3; *lower left*, Luke, I, 15; *upper right*, II Sam., XIII, 34; *centre right*, Luke, XXIII, 47; *lower right*, Psalm, IV, 4

DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, *centre*, Acts, II, 3; *upper left*, Acts, II, 2; *centre left*, Neh., IX, 20; *lower left*, John, XIV, 26; *upper right*, Acts, II, 4; *centre right*, Num., XI, 25; *lower right*, Wisd., IX, 17

RESURRECTION, *centre*, Prov., XXIV, 16; *upper left*, Zeph., III, 8 and Psalm, LXXV, 9; *centre left*, Acts, XVII, 3; *lower left*, II Tim., II, 8; *upper right*, Zeph., III, 8; *centre right*, I Cor., XV, 20; *lower right*, I Cor., XV, 20

NAVICELLA, *centre*, Jam., I, 6; *upper left*, Mat., XIV, 31; *centre left*, Mat., XIV, 30; *lower left*, Jam., I, 6; *upper right*, John, XXI, 7 (slightly altered); *centre right*, Mat., XIV, 30; *lower right*, Jam., I, 6

ASCENSION, *centre*, Eph., IV, 10; *upper left*, Eph., IV, 10; *centre left*, Deut., XXXIII, 26; *lower left*, Josh., X, 6; *upper right*, Psalm, XLVI, 6 (according to Dr. Silvana Seidel *JUBILO*, as in the Psalm, must be read as *JUBILATIONE*); *centre right*, Josh., X, 6; *lower right*, II Sam., XXII, 11

ROSE WINDOW, *centre*, *Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem* (beginning of the Creed)

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE CHAPTER-HALL
OF S. MARIA NOVELLA

ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

FLORENCE

S. MARIA NOVELLA, Chiostro Verde

CAPITOLO OR CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI

INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMBSTONE OF BUONAMICO GUIDALOTTI in front of the entrance to the Corpus Domini Chapel (let into the floor) HIC IACET MICHVS FILIVS OLIM LAPII DEGVIDALOTTIS MERCATOR QVI FECIT FIERI ET DEPINGI ISTVD CAPITVLVM CV CAPELLA SEPVLTVS I HABITV ORDINIS. A.D.M. CCC. LV. DIE. IIII SEPTEBRIS. REQVIESCAT I PACE

For the former false inscriptions regarding the authorship of the frescoes, see Bibliography under Mecatti, 1737, 15. See also State, p. 78 and Bibliography under Vasari, 1550.

DOCUMENTS

1355, August 2nd FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO. ARCHIVIO DIPLOMATICO, S. MARIA NOVELLA, TESTAMENT OF BUONAMICO DI LAPO GUIDALOTTI

Michus cd. Lapi Guidalotti . . testator predictus reliquit et de suis bonis dari voluit Fratribus et Conventui Fratrum Predicatorum de Florentia expendendi et convertendi per infrascriptos executores et fideicommissarios huius testamenti de conscientia Prioris et Capituli dicti Conventus: in et pro ornando et pingendo et seu ornari et pingi faciendo Capitulum et locum qui capitulum appellatur dicti Conventus nec non Cappellam Corporis D. N. Ih. Xti dicti Conventus sitam in Capitulo seu penes dictum Capitulum quae intitulatur Cappella Corporis D. N. Ih. Xti: flor. trecentos viginticinque aur. illi vel illis, cui, quibus, quando, qualiter, prout, sicut et quemadmodum ipsis infrascriptis executoribus . . seu viventibus ex eis vel maiori parti ipsorum videbitur et placebit, de consilio et conscientia Prioris ac Capituli dicti Conventus: dummodo ipse testator ipsum Capitulum et Cappellam tempore suae vitae pingi et ornari non fecerit.

The executors of his will: *Religiosissimum virum fratrem Jacobum Passavantis conventus pred. de Flor. donec vixerit et Dominichum fratrem dicti testatoris filium quondam Lapi Guidalotti, dominam Fiondinam predictam uxorem dicti testatoris et Naddum quondam Andree de Ginaçcis . . Post mortem vero dicti fratris Jacobi posuit et esse voluit priorem conventus pred. de Flor. qui pro tempore fuerit*

in WOOD BROWN, 1902, 146 n. 1

published by I. TAURISANO in IL ROSARIO, MEMORIE DOMENICANE, III, 1916, 90 n. 1

in ORLANDI, II 1955, 438-439

see MODESTUS BILIOCTUS, VENERABILIS COENOBII SANCTAE MARIAE NOVELLAE DE FLORENTIA CHRONICA, 1586, CAP. 24 (Ms. in Archivio di S. Maria Novella, Florence)

1365, December 30th FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DEL CONVENTO DI S. MARIA NOVELLA, LIBER NOVUS (Ms.), ff. 40 v-41r

Copia cuiusdam littere in vulgari, sigillate sigillo conventus et prioratus, concesse Andree pictori:

. . io frate Zenobi de' Guasconi . . anno Domini 1365 del mese di dicembre adì 30, diedi ad Andrea di Bonaiuto dipintore, a vita sua e dela donna sua (N.¹) . . una casa

N.¹ This passage *a vita sua e dela donna sua* was written later in the margin by another hand.

nella quale al presente habita, posta nella nostra piazza nuova . . per prezzo di fiorini d'oro sexantacinque. Li quali danari egli non debbe pagare contanti, ma debbe scontargli nela dipintura del nostro capitolo, sì veramente ch'egli debbe avere sconti da gennaio che viene a mesi diciotto proximi (N.²) che verranno, ricevento (sic) dal detto convento in questo tempo del suo lavorio alchuno danaio sì che possa sostenere la vita sua. El detto Andrea debbe avere dipinto tucto il capitolo dal detto K(a)lendi di gennaio a due anni, essendo egli pagato chome sarà ragionevole del detto lavorio, a quella pena che parrà al priore che sarà per lo tempo. E in testimonio dele predecite cose, io frate Zenobi predetto la presente cedola, di consentimento de' detti frati, ò scripto di mia propria mano e registrata nel libro del nostro convento e suggellata del suggello del convento predecito e del mio officio . .

published by I. TAURISANO in IL ROSARIO, MEMORIE DOMENICANE, III, 1916, 224-225
 see V. M. BORGHIGIANI, CRONICA ANNALISTICA DEL CONVENTO DI S. MARIA NOVELLA, 1757-1760, II, ff. 109-110 (Ms. in Archivio del convento di S. Maria Novella, Florence)
 see ORLANDI, I, 1955, 617-618

GIORNATE (N.³)

So far drawings of the *giornate* have only been made for the three restored walls of the Triumph, Church and Crucifixion frescoes. I am most grateful to Sig. Dino Dini for these drawings. They were only made available after the completion of the text, but serve to confirm some of my opinions on the style of the frescoes, and the attribution of particular figures to Andrea Bonaiuti.

The *giornate* of the Triumph are mostly divided into large regular sections (PL.I²⁶). The inner border of the fresco was painted first, then the sky with a single *giornata* for each of the virtues. The figure of St. Thomas was painted in three parts, the open book and lettering forming a separate section (14, 15, 16, 17). The same applies to Solomon's book and King David's musical instrument (39, 21). The draperies of the figures to either side of St. Thomas were painted in large sections, whereas the heads and hands were executed separately; the draperies were often painted before the heads. The three heretics were covered in a single *giornata*, with the result that only the central figure of Averroes is well preserved (42).

The lower zone was begun on the left, starting with the gables, to which the medallions were added afterwards. On the right, perhaps to hasten the work, the gables and medallions were executed together. The painting of the choir stalls was again simplified in the right half by filling in the columns simultaneously. The draperies of the Sciences (left) and Liberal Arts (right) were painted before the heads. Where the artist attempted too much in a single *giornata* (the second branch of Theology, Rhetoric with Cicero, or Grammar with Priscian and the two pupils) the painting has deteriorated more easily. The particularly fine figures of St. Jerome and Tubalcain in the bottom row have heads painted in separate units.

The division of the Church wall (PL. II³²) corresponds in part to that of the Triumph. This is especially true of the right-hand section of the fresco and in the groups in front of the cathedral where the heads were painted in twos and threes, with sometimes as many as four and, in one case on the right, even five together. In the scene of St. Thomas preaching, to the extreme right, six and seven heads were painted in a single *giornata* (147, 148). The heads of the saints in Paradise and of the angels flanking the Majestas domini were also subdivided

N.² Padre Orlandi (I, 1955, 617-618) who does not cite the passage from the *Liber novus* verbatim, refers to *diciotto mesi*.

N.³ *Giornata* (= a day's work) is the Italian term in fresco technique for the patch of plaster which the artist intended to paint in a day.

into small sections. Those to Christ's left are particularly monotonous in their arrangement and execution.

The painting of the cathedral covered several *giornate* and was certainly left to an assistant; the same hand must have been responsible for the upper part of the Paradise gate. The animals beneath the three Dominican preachers, the pope and emperor were also painted as separate units. In contrast to the Triumph wall, most of the heads in the fresco were painted before the draperies. The pope constitutes an exception, which would suggest that in this case the head was redone. The upper part of the Crucifixion (PL. III²⁰) follows the same pattern as the Triumph wall. The two thieves were treated individually, the painting of that on the right being divided into two sections. It has not been possible to outline the various *giornate* for the crowd groups at the foot of Christ's cross. The figures and heads to the left of the good thief were painted in small sections, and also those immediately to the right of this cross. Towards the right border the sections become larger, possibly because time was getting short. Individual figures do, however, stand out and show that the artist executed them himself: for instance, the horse of the man attacking the crowd (22), the small figure seen from behind (34) before the escaping crowd, and the right group of figures casting lots (29, 32). In the Way to Calvary a number of figures are treated separately, including Christ (78, 79), the man with a hammer over his shoulder (77), and the half figures of the horsemen leaving the city gate (63, 65). Whole sections of the city were painted in a single *giornata* (60–62). In the Limbo scene, except for the principal figures of Christ and Adam (97), several heads were grouped together in each *giornata*.

STATE (N.⁴)

We shall begin by describing the changes made to the Chapel after the completion of the frescoes. The attributions in Vasari's 1550 edition were most likely responsible for the inscriptions added to the West and East walls, ascribing them to Taddeo Gaddi and Simone Martini respectively (N.⁵). The inscriptions probably date from after 1566 when the Chapel became the property of the Spanish colony (N.⁶). At the time of Veracini's restoration of the Chapel shortly before 1733, these inscriptions were removed (cf. N.⁵). The entrance to the Corpus Domini Chapel must originally have been framed by an ornamental border and terminated in a pointed arch (PL. III¹). It was flanked by two painted columns supporting two small figures in grisaille. Remains of the columns (including the base of the one on the left), of the capitals and figures are still visible in the Crucifixion fresco (PLS. III, III¹⁴, III¹⁷, III¹⁸). In 1592 the floor level of the small chapel was raised by three steps (N.⁷; PL. III). In the same year, the entrance was framed with a thick stone rounded arch resting on pilasters (N.⁸). Unfortunately this resulted in the disappearance of the painting around the original pointed arch (PL. III³). Fräulein Barbara Schleicher has made a sketch reconstructing its original appearance (PL. III¹).

The Corpus Domini Chapel originally formed part of the decoration of the chapter-hall (N.⁹); later, the gothic window was replaced by an oval one and the walls were frescoed by Alessandro Allori (workshop) and the vault by Bernardino Poccetti (?) (N.¹⁰). Remains of

N.⁴ The plates labelled *before restoration* illustrate the state of the frescoes before the recent restoration by Sig. Dino Dini. For their former state in general, see Crowe and Cavalcaselle (Bibliography under 1864).

N.⁵ For the inscriptions see Bibliography under Mecatti, 1737, 15 mentioned on p. 76 of this volume.

N.⁶ Taurisano also believes that the inscriptions date from the remodelling of the Chapel in 1592 (*Il Rosario, Memorie Domenicane* III, 1916, 218).

N.⁷ See Bibliography under Mecatti, 1737, 19.

N.⁸ The key-stone of the arch is dated 1592.

N.⁹ See Mico Guidalotti's will of 1355 cited on p. 76.

N.¹⁰ See Paatz, III, 1952, 722–723. Mr. Paul Hamilton has (orally) questioned the attribution to Poccetti.

the Trecento frescoes probably survive underneath; but their presence has not been tested so far.

During the restoration of the frescoes carried out between 1566 and 1592 it is likely that the truncated structure to the extreme left of the cathedral was converted into the campanile (N.¹¹). It is strange that the campanile should be misplaced and feature as an insignificant detail. The recent restoration shows that the upper part was copied from the actual campanile and that it bears no relation to the fine, detailed drawing of the cathedral (compare, for instance, one of the windows with those in the drum of the cathedral; PL. II²⁶). This is supported by the fact that remains of St. Agnes' dress painted *a fresco* have appeared where the painting of the tower has flaked off.

When the Chapel ceased to be used by the Spanish Colony, it remained closed, according to Mecatti (N.¹²), for many years and the frescoes must have suffered as a result. Concerning changes within the chapter-hall one should also mention the entrance wall (PL. IV). Fra Salvatore D'Asciano (d. 1733), who commissioned Veracini to undertake the restoration, had the wooden door and window shutters replaced by wrought-iron gratings (N.¹³). For the tribune erected on this wall we refer the reader to the discussion of the St. Peter Martyr frescoes (N.¹⁴). Between the lunette and the entrance door is a narrow strip with painted remains of the lower parts of figures. Unfortunately, the subject of this scene cannot be identified. The top section of the lunette was probably destroyed by the building of the tribune and later replaced by the semi-circular window, in order to give more light to the Chapel.

The flesh areas were generally painted on the freshly laid plaster, whereas the draperies were either painted *a fresco* or on partially dry plaster (N.¹⁵); this explains the different degrees of conservation and the colour losses in the latter. Consequently it was already necessary to restore the frescoes in the early eighteenth century. The task was entrusted to Agostino Veracini (N.¹⁶), and his intervention was so thorough that already in 1737 Mecatti wrote that the damages were treated *a tal grado di perfezione, che non lo spazio di quattro secoli, ma quello di pochi anni sembra esservi corso* (N.¹⁷). Besides removing the inscriptions that referred the painting to Taddeo Gaddi and Simone Martini (see above), he also obliterated the ones on the choir-stall steps beneath the seated male figures in the Triumph (N.¹⁸), and so radically that they cannot be deciphered even with the help of ultra-violet rays. The same applies to the gold lettering to either side of the female figures in the choir stalls; but in this case it could have flaked off independently. Consequently, except for the Liberal Arts which are recognizable by their attributes, these figures cannot be identified with certainty. To what extent Veracini interfered with draperies and landscape details can be ascertained from the description of the recent restoration carried out by Sig. Dino Dini (N.¹⁹).

N.¹¹ Sig. Dino Dini has doubts regarding the authenticity of the upper part of the campanile (PL. II²⁶). Angiola Maria Romanini (*Arnolfo di Cambio*, Milano, 1969, 117) also suggests the possibility of a later addition. See p. 33 n. 1.

N.¹² See Bibliography under Mecatti, 1737, 30.

N.¹³ See Bibliography under Mecatti, 1737, 34.

N.¹⁴ See p. 52.

N.¹⁵ Certain figures were obviously entirely painted *a fresco*. They have survived the centuries intact and needed only to be freed of dirt (cf. for instance, Tubalcain below Music PL. I²¹; Christ in the Way to Calvary PL. III¹⁶; the man with the falcon in the Church Militant and Triumphant PL. II²⁰; or the angler in the Navicella PL. VII⁶).

N.¹⁶ See Bibliography under Del Bruno, 1733, 78.

N.¹⁷ See Bibliography under Mecatti, 1737, 31.

N.¹⁸ These must have been removed earlier, otherwise it is difficult to explain the discrepancies in the descriptions of the figures given by Vasari (1568) and Biliotti (1586). See also p. 24 n. 11.

N.¹⁹ See pp. 80–83 of this volume.

Around 1935 the frescoes were restored by Amadeo Benini (N.²⁰). The results are clearly apparent in the Alinari photographs taken in 1956 which show the differences from earlier photographs. For instance, the glory around the head of the First Branch of Theology was uncovered (Alinari 4085, 52115). The landscape directly beneath the right group of angels on the Church wall (beside Christ in glory) was freed of repaint (Brogi, 6704; Alinari, 51212). Buildings, trees and figures re-emerged to form one of the most delightful landscapes in Florentine Trecento painting (PL. II¹³). Benini's restoration also brought to light the initial letters of the planets in the small squares in the Triumph of St. Thomas (Alinari, 52118–52120; PLS. I¹⁶, I¹⁹, I²¹). He also seems to have attempted to remove the repaint on the Peter Martyr wall (cf. for instance, the cripple and the girl lying in the foreground, the mother and child group and the figure seen from behind next to them at the saint's tomb in Alinari 4097 and PL. IV¹¹; also the two women behind Rufino's bed in Brogi 6721 and PL. IV¹⁸).

The final restoration was carried out in 1960–1965 by Sig. Dino Dini for the Soprintendenza of Florence. Only then did it become clear how far and how clumsily Veracini had tampered with the frescoes. Examples of his excessive repainting are found in the figures of Sabellius, Rhetoric and Grammar (PLS. I⁷, I⁸, I¹⁹, I²⁰). One could quote many more; but we shall let the photographs taken before and after restoration speak for themselves. Cleaning has revealed the original underdrawing in several places, for instance, in the figures of Sabellius and Arius (the latter also shows pentimenti; PL. I⁷). The finely preserved figure of Averroes between them forms a sharp contrast and enables us to form an idea of the beauty of the figures in their original state. A small sketch was discovered next to the figure of Pythagoras (PLS. I¹⁶, I¹⁷; Soprintendenza, 113949; N.²¹). Veracini naturally covered up damaged areas, for instance, Charity, Job, Rhetoric and her exponent. It is interesting to note that even after the last restoration King Solomon is the only figure in the row, left and right of St. Thomas, represented without a halo (PL. I¹³; N.²²). Cicero has three hands, all of which prove to be original (PL. I¹⁹); but the hand supporting his chin is certainly a pentimento (N.²³).

Veracini, or one of his assistants, freely gave vent to his imagination when filling in the missing landscape sections (cf. for instance, the Resurrection PLS. VIII–VIII⁸; Soprintendenza, 118523, 118534, 118536, 118537, 118554, 118556, 118558). Sig. Dino Dini has rightly removed the backgrounds of foliage, for instance, in the Resurrection and in the *Noli me tangere* (PLS. VIII³, VIII⁷), since they completely falsified the composition. Below the two guards lying in the foreground there are still traces of the vegetation that originally would probably have covered large part of the scene. The later overpainting which reached almost to the right ornamental border, produced the effect of a decorative carpet (Alinari, 4090; see also the repainted castle). Many of the flowers and animals scattered about the composition have also disappeared. In the case of the Church wall, the restorer has only removed part of

N.²⁰ Benini also restored the Strozzi Chapel in S. Maria Novella (*Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. V, 25 n. 17) and, less successfully, the frescoes in the Bardi di Vernio Chapel in S. Croce.

N.²¹ There are also studies for the ornamentation of the choir stalls; see Bibliography under Procacci, 1960.

N.²² Instead, there are remains of a square left and right of Solomon's head painted *a secco* (see p. 22 n. 4, Soprintendenza, 112852; PL. I¹³). See also Meiss in *Giotto e il suo Tempo. Atti del Congresso Internazionale per la celebrazione del VII Centenario della nascita di Giotto*, Roma, 1971, 410 n. 35.

N.²³ Vasari already mentions this detail in his first edition of 1550 (p. 182). Various interpretations have been suggested: Mecatti, for instance, interprets the third hand as a symbol of rhetoric (see Bibliography under 1737, 14); Fineschi suggests that the three hands represent the three branches of rhetoric (see Bibliography under 1787, 115). If the artist intended to give the figure three hands, it is difficult to explain why one of them should be almost hidden beneath his cloak. It is more likely that he altered Cicero's attitude in order not to detract from that of St. Jerome (PL. I¹⁵). Even in some of the more recent literature the presence of three hands has been regarded as an original invention on the part of the artist (see, for instance, S. Orlandi, *S. Maria Novella e i suoi chiostri monumentali*, Firenze, 1956, between pp. 56–57).

the repaint on the trees in order not to disturb the general impression of the fresco. The type of leaves animated by white flowers are anachronistic not only for Andrea's style but for Trecento painting in general (PLS. II²⁷, II¹³, II²⁴; N.²⁴). Andrea painted the foliage against a black ground, arranged in series of small semi-circles with the individual leaves shaped like feathers or stars. A good example is visible in the tree right of Christ in the *Noli me tangere* (PL. VIII). The repaint on the groups of trees behind the four seated figures in the *Church Militant and Triumphant* have obviously not been removed in order not to leave gaps in the fresco (N.²⁵). On the other hand, the trees behind the Magdalen in the *Noli me tangere*, including the palm, are well preserved (PL. VIII⁷). A good example of the state of the foliage before and after restoration is found in the lower left corner of the *Resurrection* (Soprintendenza, 118532, 118525; PL. VIII⁸). The treatment of the foliage in the first of these photographs can be compared to that in the *Death of St. Francis* in S. Jacopo sopr'Arno by Veracini himself (Brogi, 19920). The foliage behind the Magdalen in the *Noli me tangere* (Soprintendenza, 118537) was very similar to that in the same scene in the Rinuccini Chapel in S. Croce which Veracini also restored (N.²⁶).

The damp patches above and below in the left section of the *Crucifixion* have been caused by a leaking roof. This also explains the damaged figure in the left ornamental border of the *Resurrection*. Later this quatrefoil was covered with a coarse patterned decoration (Brogi, 6698), which was subsequently removed (Alinari, 4110; N.²⁷). Damage caused by damp was already visible at an early date in the figure of the emperor in the *Triumph* (Alinari, 8196). This must also be the reason why the pope's robes were so heavily repainted (Brogi, 6687; Alinari, 4077; N.²⁸). As may be seen in the Alinari photograph 52116 taken in 1956 these damages in the figure of the pope had re-emerged (cf. the photo taken during the last restoration: Soprintendenza, 123303). For the present state of both figures see PL. I⁴. The flood of 1966 caused all these old damages to reappear; the water level covered the frescoes to the height of 0.34 m. Experts were successful in preventing the damp from advancing further than 0.115 m.; but it was not possible to prevent either the formation of salt crystals or blistering of the surface (N.²⁹). The state of the *Crucifixion* is stationary. To what extent the Church wall has suffered is visible in PLS. II⁶, II⁸, II¹⁰, which were taken only recently. The colour is flaking off the dogs. The Soprintendenza is attempting to find a remedy.

Of the three vault frescoes that have been restored, the *Pentecost* was the most heavily repainted. This affected the architecture in the lower part of the scene; the rounded arch resting on pilasters and the windows were intended to give the building a Quattrocento appearance (cf. PL. VI¹ with VI). Compared with this heavy architecture the curved outline of the loggia uncovered by the recent cleaning is far less rigid; this curve counterbalances that formed by the figures in the lower part of the fresco. There are various pentimenti in the lunette above the door (PL. VI³). The group of the Virgin and the Apostles in the upper part of the scene turned out to be relatively well preserved (PL. VI²); but this is not the case with

N.²⁴ Compare, for instance, the well-preserved drawing of the trees and leaves in the Arena Chapel at Padua.

N.²⁵ The foliage behind the man with the falcon, for example, was not entirely freed of repaint (PL. II²⁰).

N.²⁶ The Alinari photo. 3959 of the *Noli me tangere* by the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel documents the state after Veracini's restoration of 1736. For the present state, after Sig. Dino Dini's restoration of 1960, see Soprintendenza, 116686.

N.²⁷ This restoration antedates that of Benini; it was probably carried out at the end of the nineteenth century.

N.²⁸ According to Sig. Dino Dini there is a cavity behind the figures of the pope and emperor dating from when a staircase was built between the Chostro Verde and the upper floor. This cavity was filled with rubble which was probably responsible for the damage to this part of the fresco.

N.²⁹ See Bibliography under von Erffa, 1967.

the draperies of the figures below (PLS. VI³–VI⁵). The dogs have not been touched as their authenticity is questionable (PLS. VI⁴, VI⁵; N.³⁰).

Traces of colour behind the Magdalen's arms might be interpreted as the pentimento of a flag; this would show that the composition of the Resurrection could have been altered during execution (PL. VIII⁷). This scene was also considerably repainted in the early eighteenth century, mostly in the landscape parts, as has already been mentioned (N.³¹). There were large areas probably caused by damp which Veracini filled in according to his own phantasy. He was certainly also responsible for the small clouds at Christ's feet and for the decoration on the shields (PLS. VIII¹, VIII², Soprintendenza, 118551; PL. VIII³). The restorer's brush-work may be distinguished in the shading of the left angel's face (PLS. VIII³, VIII⁴, N.³²).

In certain cases it was difficult to decide how much earlier repaint to remove, since there was uncertainty as to the state of preservation of the original pigment underneath. In the Navicella, for instance, earlier restorations were left in the sky with the wind gods (N.³³), in the sea and the left bank, as well as in the areas of the sail and rigging, even though the three-dimensional effect of light and shade on the sail is not in keeping with Andrea's style (Soprintendenza, 52734; PL. VII). The outline of the ship's hull has re-emerged; but for the sail, rigging and rudder one should compare the ship in the second fresco of the Ranieri cycle at Pisa (photo. Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome, C 3393; Pt. II). Apart from slight flaking the figures in the boat are fairly well preserved (PLS. VII²–VII⁴). The same is true of the figure of the angler but not of the Christ and St. Peter group (PLS. VII⁶, VII⁵). The sky in all the frescoes of the chapel is painted over a red ground, with the exception of that in the Church Militant and Triumphant where the ground is grey, thereby producing a far more luminous effect (PLS. II²⁹, II³¹).

The flood of 1966 interrupted the restoration of the Chapel and consequently the entrance wall and the corresponding vault segment with the Ascension have not yet been cleaned (PLS. IV, IX). Already at the beginning of the eighteenth century this wall had suffered from damp (N.³⁴) and, furthermore, a tribune had been built which corresponded to a loggia on the outside (for the latter, cf. photo. Brogi, 3909^a). In March 1894 a large part of the loggia was removed in order to give more light to the frescoes (N.³⁵). These changes account for the large damaged strip across this wall. Later the damaged area was covered by a painting of the Last Supper by Sister Plautilla Nelli (now in the Refectory; Alinari, 31081). The damage suffered by the decoration in the lower part of the rose-window was certainly also due to these alterations (PL. IV). All the habits in the scenes of this wall appear to have been heavily repainted, and also the dress of the executioner in the Martyrdom scene (PLS. IV⁵–IV⁷, IV¹⁰).

Although the St. Peter Martyr wall and the Ascension still remain to be restored, several of the apostles in the latter are well preserved (PLS. IX⁴, IX⁷). In others the paint has flaked, exposing the under-drawing, as in the kneeling apostle beside St. Peter. Some of the details of the landscape will probably alter on cleaning: the rock in the lower left corner, the lion on

N.³⁰ The dogs probably formed part of the original composition; this would seem to be confirmed by the miniature in the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. 3045; museum photo 79525) which was clearly inspired by this fresco. It includes, in fact, in spite of the lack of space a small dog (see p. 57 n.).

N.³¹ See p. 80.

N.³² This treatment is also visible in other parts; for instance, Music's right knee (Brogi, 6696), or the cheek of the mourning woman in front of the group of Maries in the Crucifixion (Brogi, 14170).

N.³³ The wind gods must be original as they appear in other versions of this subject (see W. Paeseler in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, V, 1941, 93 et seq. and Degenhart-Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen*, Berlin, I–4, 1968, pls. 203, 204a). Only the wind god above left may give rise to some doubts (PL. VII²).

N.³⁴ For the damages caused by damp at an early date, see Bibliography under Mecatti, 1737.

N.³⁵ See *Arte e Storia*, XI, 1892, 39; XIII, 1894, 31.

the right (Soprintendenza, 161703) and many of the scattered animals will probably disappear (PLS. IX, IX³–IX⁹; N.³⁶), as in the Resurrection. The hovering angels seem to be partly repainted (PL. IX¹).

The state of the ornamental borders is, on the whole, good; this may be due to the fact that the division of the work followed a much more regular pattern, and that the repetitive designs could be executed more rapidly than the compositions. Furthermore, there is an extensive use of white, which gave assurance of greater durability. These parts are executed with great precision (N.³⁷), especially in the inscriptions (see, for instance, PLS. I²⁴ I²⁵). The figure in the elongated quatrefoil on the right of the entrance wall is damaged (Alinari, 4077, PL. IV). Another of the most damaged areas is the section of the border framing St. Peter Martyr's Sermon (PLS. IV⁸, IV⁹, IV²¹).

The painted border below the four principal frescoes is original; that of the St. Thomas wall has been damaged by damp.

I am greatly indebted to Sig. Dino Dini for helping me with the description of the state of the frescoes and for checking my manuscript.

HISTORY

As has already been stated, the chapter-hall and adjacent chapel were founded and endowed by Mico di Lapo Guidalotti, a rich Florentine merchant (N.³⁸). The chapel was dedicated to the Corpus Domini, for which Guidalotti had a particular devotion, and was intended to become the family vault (N.³⁹). It is not known when the complex was actually built, but it is generally associated with Fra Jacopo Talenti da Nippozano (d. 1362), which is convincing from the point of view of both date and style (N.⁴⁰). In any case the structure cannot date from 1344 (N.⁴¹). Neither the chapter-hall nor the chapel appears to have been completed by 1355, since in August of that year the donor (buried 4 Sept. 1355) made his will in which he

N.³⁶ Unlike the animals in Giovanni del Biondo's paintings, here they have no symbolical meaning (Corpus, Sec. IV, Vol. IV, 44 n. 1). In the Spanish Chapel the animals are arbitrarily scattered about the compositions.

N.³⁷ For the same reasons the choir-stalls in the Triumph of St. Thomas are also well preserved (including the representations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and of the Planets), as well as the cathedral and gate to Paradise in the Church Militant and Triumphant (PLS. I¹⁴–I¹⁹, II¹, II²⁴–II²⁶).

N.³⁸ See Orlandi, II, 1955, 443, No. XXXII. Guidalotti also commissioned the section of the cloister in front of the chapter-hall. His coat-of-arms (or, a wing displayed azure signed with a Greek cross of the field) appears on the capitals of the four corner pilasters inside the chapter-hall, on the pilasters flanking the entrance to the Corpus Domini Chapel (which must have been transferred when the arch was remodelled), on the architrave over the entrance to the chapter-hall and on the cloister columns opposite. For Guidalotti's relations with the Dominicans of S. Maria Novella, see Orlandi, I, 1955, 540).

N.³⁹ See Paatz, III, 1952, 671. Mico Guidalotti was buried in front of the altar of the chapel in Dominican habit (for the inscription on the tombstone, see p. 76). The position of the tombstone may have been altered when the floor was remade in 1912; see, Paatz, III, 1952, 770 n. 84, 816 n. 313). Although he married twice, Guidalotti died childless (see, Orlandi, I, 1955, 540). This probably explains why he made such a large donation to the church. Mico's second wife, Fiondina degli Infangati, was also buried in Dominican habit in the chapter-hall in 1384 (see, Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, *Istoria fiorentina in Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, IX, 1777, 195).

N.⁴⁰ Mecatti (1737, 4) was the first to attribute the building to Talenti; Fineschi (1790, 44) agreed with this opinion. This attribution is still generally accepted today (see, Paatz, III, 1952, 697).

N.⁴¹ This dating is based on the altarpiece of 1344 by an assistant of Bernardo Daddi, in which the inscriptions and scrolls refer principally to the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist and form part of the Corpus Domini liturgy. However, this does not provide a sufficient reason for dating the beginning of the building prior to 1344 (see, Paatz, III, 1952, 768 n. 67). The altarpiece could already have been hanging inside the church and have been placed only later in the Corpus Domini Chapel. The feast of Corpus Domini had long been celebrated with particular solemnity in S. Maria Novella (see, Orlandi, I, 1955, 543), and its ritual was largely due to St. Thomas Aquinas (*Corpus*, Sec. III, Vol. V, 89 n. 13). For further information on the celebration of this feast, see Fineschi, *Della Festa e della Processione del Corpus Domini in Firenze*, Firenze, 1768.

left funds for the fresco decoration (N.⁴²). Had the building already been completed by then, it would be difficult to understand why the decoration, which was to be the crowning conclusion of the donation (N.⁴³), had not been decided on earlier. It is specifically stated at the end of the will, that the executors were responsible for disposing of the bequest only if the donor died before the completion of the commission. It therefore follows that Mico Guidalotti intended to have the frescoes painted as soon as possible. Hence the above conclusion that the chapel was not finished at his death. The building was probably begun not long before the date of the will (N.⁴⁴).

The first of the executors named in the will is Fra Jacopo Passavanti, Guidalotti's close friend with whom he must have discussed the programme of the decoration (N.⁴⁵). Passavanti became Prior early in November 1355, but he already retired in June 1356 for health reasons (N.⁴⁶), and died a year later. These facts must have caused a further delay, which lasted through the priorates of his two successors, and the commission was only given by Fra Zenobius Gausconi, the next prior (N.⁴⁷), to Andrea Bonaiuti at the end of 1365 (N.⁴⁸). Guasconi was anxious to have the fresco decoration completed within two years (beginning 1 Jan. 1366), and this time limit seems to have been nearly kept to. A sum of 325 florins was assigned for the painting (N.⁴⁹). The monastery also gave the artist the use of a house, the rent being deducted from his income.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1549 GELLI, GIOVAMBATISTA, SOPRA QUE' DUE SONETTI DEL PETRARCHA, FIORENZA, 34, 35
maestro Simone da Siena .. facciata del capitol' di Santa Maria Novella .. uerso la chiesa (i.e. Church Militant and Triumphant)
- 1550 VASARI, 1st ed., I, 174-176, 181-183
Simone Memmi .. lauorò tre facciate nel capitolò di Sata Maria Novella .. la uita di San Domenico .. la Religione di San Domenico .. la passione di Christo .. Lauorò con Simone in questa opera Lippo Memmi .. Taddeo Gaddi painted .. la facciata sinistra, e tutta la volta (N.⁵⁰)
- (Opinion repeated in 2nd ed., I, 1568, 171-172, 179-180)
- 1567- PETREI, ANTONIO, MEMORIALE DI
 1570 CURIOSITÀ ARTISTICHE IN FIRENZE
Tre facciate del capitolò: Simone Memi Saneta (Sanese). *Una facciata nel capitolò: Taddeo Gaddj*
 in BILLI, FREY ED., 1892, 58
- 1584 BORGHINI, 290-291, 300
Taddeo Gaddi .. dipinse nel Capitolò di Santa Maria Novella the vault and le sette Arti Liberali, le sette Scienze Teologiche, e in alto San Tommaso d'Aquino .. As Simon Sanese .. historia della Fede

N.⁴² See document quoted on p. 76.

N.⁴³ Oertel is right in assuming that the building was planned with the decoration in view (Oertel, 1953, 181). For this reason also it is unlikely that there would have been such a lapse of time between the completion of the building and the decoration.

N.⁴⁴ Dr. Heinrich Klotz, Göttingen, has kindly informed me that he dates the building of the Spanish Chapel to around the middle of the fourteenth century. The Chiostro Verde and the large refectory were probably also built by Jacopo Talenti between 1350 and 1360 (see, Paatz, III, 1952, 696, 698; Siebenhüner in Thieme-Becker, XXXII, 1938, 416).

N.⁴⁵ See Orlandi, I, 1955, 461.

N.⁴⁶ See Orlandi, I, 1955, 466. Passavanti died on 15 June 1357.

N.⁴⁷ Fra Zenobius de' Guasconi (born 1325) was Prior from the end of December 1362 until the end of 1365 (see Orlandi, I, 1955, 607, 609).

N.⁴⁸ See document quoted on pp. 76-77.

N.⁴⁹ Biliotti (1586) tells us that Mico Guidalotti left a further 92 florins to his heirs in case the sum he had bequeathed to the monastery proved insufficient (a). Biliotti underlined the fact that this sum is not referred to in the will, but he gives no source for this reference. Mecatti (1737, 16), on the other hand, affirms that Mico's brother, Domenico, personally donated the sum of 92 florins for the decoration of the Chapel. As no source is given for this fact, neither opinion can be regarded as of documentary value.

N.⁵⁰ The false inscriptions on the East and West walls must have been based on these attributions (see State p. 78 and Bibliography under Mecatti, 1737, 15).

- 1586 (a) BILIOCTUS, MODESTUS, VENERABILIS COENOBII SANCTAE MARIAE NOVELLAE DE FLORENTIA CHRONICA, CAP. 24 (Ms. in Archivio di S. Maria Novella, Florence)
anno MCCCCLV die secunda augusti suum novissimum condidit testamentum, in quo pro pingendo capitulo trecentos viginti quinque florenos constituit. Intelligens autem eos nequaquam sufficere adiecit (non tamen in testamento) alios nonaginta duos per suos heredes in pictura cum prioribus exolvendos. Mico ergo post mensem defuncto, Dominicus eius frater .. capitulum ipsum Simoni Memmio senensi, et Taddeo Gaddio florentino pictoribus celeberrimis pingendum dedit. Simoni obtigerunt tres facies .. meridionalis .. et septentrionalis .. et orientalis .. Taddeo autem cum occidentali facie .. omnes supernae cesserunt testudines
in ANALECTA SACRI ORDINIS FRATRUM PRAEDICATORUM, ROMAE XII, 1915, 244-245
- 1649 UGURGIERI AZZOLINI, ISIDORO, LE POMPE SANESI, PISTOIA, II, 333-334, 335
Simone di Martino da Siena .. Lauorò .. tre facciate nel Capitolo .. la vita di S. Domenico .. la Religione di S. Domenico .. la Passione di Christo .. Lippo Memmi .. Lauorò con Simone nel Capitolo
- 1677 BOCCHI-CINELLI, 261
da .. Simone Memmi .. e da Lippo suo fratello è dipinta a fresco tutta la Cappella
- 1686 BALDINUCCI, 1st ed., II, 4, 34, 36
Simon Memmi .. Colori .. tre facciate del Capitolo di S. Maria Novella .. la Vita di S. Domenico .. la Religione del medesimo .. la passione di Cristo .. Lippo Memmi .. aiutò .. Simone .. As Taddeo Gaddi .. la facciata sinistra e .. tutta la volta
- 1733 DEL BRUNO, RAFFAELLO, RISTRETTO DELLE COSE PIÙ NOTABILI DELLA CITTÀ DI FIRENZE, FIRENZE, 4th ed., 77-78
pitture nelle pareti, e nella volta di mano di Taddeo Gaddi, e di Simone Memmi .. recently restored by Agostino Veracini on the order of Fra Salvatore d'Ascanio Spagnuolo .. fatta .. abbellire .. ravvivate mirabilmente
(Opinion repeated in subsequent editions)
- 1737 MECATTI, GIUSEPPE MARIA, NOTIZIE ISTORICHE RIGUARDANTI IL CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNUOLI, FIRENZE, 7-17, 29-31

Simone Memmi .. tre .. facciate .. quella a Mezzogiorno .. quella a Tramontana .. quella a Oriente .. As Taddeo Gaddi .. la facciata Occidentale .. ed i quattro spartimenti della gran Volta .. perhaps begun before 1350, but finished much later .. Sotto le Pitture .. sino al piano del pavimento .. in ogni parte del Capitolo un fregio dipinto .. con fiorami alla grottesca tramezzati da alcuni tondi o siano formelle centinate all'uso antico. In due di queste (i.e. on the West and East walls) .. sul mezzo .. scritti in antico carattere .. elogi de'due Pittori. On the West wall (Triumph of St. Thomas): Taddei Gaddi Florentini Opus, qui hunc Parietem, una cum superiori Testudine egregie depinxit .. l'altro on the East wall (Church Militant and Triumphant): Simonis Memmi Senensis Opus, qui triplicem hunc Parietem nobilissima hac Pictura ingeniosissime ornavit .. nel nuovo ripulimento .. cancellati .. per lunghissima serie di anni si vidde .. the chapter-hall .. nel misero stato di rimanere del tutto chiuso .. Pitture .. erano del tutto oscure, e coperte da una incallita polvere .. frescoes on the South wall più maltrattate .. parte .. inumidita dalla pioggia introdotta .. per quel grand'Occhio .. Veracini succeeded in .. ripulire e .. ravvivare .. i colori quasi spenti, e smarriti, e .. ritoccare .. gli affatto perduti, adattandosi felicemente al gusto, ed al carattere di qualsivoglia maniera .. Le ridusse .. a tal grado di perfezione, che non lo spazio di quattro secoli, ma quello di pochi anni sembra esservi corso .. Pareti .. of the Corpus Domini Chapel .. dipinte parte da .. Simone Memmi .. e parte da Lippo di lui Fratello

- 1755 RICHA, III, 83-89
Furono .. assegnati a Taddeo Gaddi della Volta i quattro spartimenti, e delle pareti la facciata verso Ponente, a Simone (Memmi Sanese) le facciate di Mezzodì, di Oriente, e di Tramontana .. finished before Mico Guidalotti's death .. Quotes Mecatti's description
- 1757-1760 BORGHIGIANI, V. M., CRONICA ANNALISTICA DEL CONVENTO DI S. MARIA NOVELLA, II, ff. 49 et seq., 109, 110 (Ms. in Archivio del Convento di S. Maria Novella, Florence)
Quotes the inscriptions referring to Simone Memmi and Taddeo Gaddi, and Mico Guidalotti's will .. inscriptions .. cancellate nell'ultima restaurazione .. fatta fare .. dal .. Veracini il .. P. Ascanio Ministro del Rè di Spagna .. circa l'Anno 1733 o '36 .. Memmi, e Gaddi v'ebbero ad impiegare molti

- anni, talche .. Mico Guidalotti venne a morte .. prima che le dette Pitture fossero condotte all'ultima perfezione .. Il Priore Guasconi ordinò altresì, che si terminassero .. le Pitture del Capitolo .. convenne con Andrea di Bonaiuto dipintore, e gli dette a tempo una Casa, posta sul la piazza nuova, e vi stesti mesi 18; e scontasti fior. 65; el dì 30 Xmbre 1365 si obbligò di finire tale Opera del Mese di Gennaio in due anni .. Direttore, che .. suggeriva agli artefici i pensieri .. fu .. F. Jacopo Passavanti
- 1765 CAMBIAGI, 1st ed., 131
pitture nelle pareti, e nella volta di mano di Taddeo Gaddi, e di Simone Memmi
(Opinion repeated in subsequent editions)
- 1785 DELLA VALLE, LETTERE SANESI, ROMA, II, 89-90
fatte da Simone .. in competenza di Taddeo
- 1787 FINESCHI, MEMORIE, III-III6
fu commessa l'incombenza a Simone Memmi .. ed a Taddeo Gaddi .. a Simone toccò le tre parti laterali, e la quarta parte cogli spartimenti della .. Volta s'appartenne al Gaddi
(Opinion repeated in Fineschi, 1790 and 1836; N.⁵¹)
- 1791 LASTRI, L'ETRURIA PITTRICE, FIRENZE, I, pp. X-XI
Gaddi la facciata a Ponente, e la volta .. Memmi .. le altre tre facciate
- 1792 LANZI, 1st ed., 53
Simone Memmi .. in .. Capitolo di S. M. Novella
- 1795 FOLLINI-RASTRELLI, VI, 341-349
a Simone Memmi tre facciate, cioè quella a Mezza giorno, l'altra a Tramontana, e la terza ad Oriente: a Taddeo Gaddi .. la facciata Occidentale, ed i quattro spartimenti della .. volta .. già state principiate nel 1350, ma vi vollero molti anni per terminarle
- 1795- LANZI, 2nd ed., I, 41, 289
- 1796 Taddeo Gaddi .. painted the West wall and the vault a competenza del Memmi .. the other walls by Simone Memmi .. nel 1332
(Opinion repeated in subsequent editions)
- 1813 CICOGNARA, LEOPOLDO, STORIA DELLA SCULTURA DAL SUO RISORGIMENTO IN ITALIA FINO AL SECOLO DI CANOVA, VENEZIA, I, 3; 408, 410-411
Taddeo Gaddi e .. Simone Memmi .. La pittura .. fatta da Simone nel 1332 .. (Opinion repeated in 2nd ed., 1823, III, 316, 322-323)
- 1819 GARGIOLLI, I, 192-194
Tadée Gaddi .. représenta dans la muraille du côté du couchant st. Thomas .. peignit à fresque la voûte .. Simon Memmi coloria .. les autres murailles
- 1822 GUIDE DE FLORENCE ET D'AUTRES VILLES PRINCIPALES DE TOSCANE, FLORENCE, II, 18-20
On assigna à Thaddée Gaddi les quatre compartimens de la voute, et la façade qui regarde au couchant, à l'autre (i.e. Simone Memmi) on lui donna à faire les trois façades du midi, du nord, et du levant
(Opinion repeated in Italian ed., 1823)
- 1823 D'AGINCOURT, II, 2; III; pl. CXXII
Church Militant and Triumphant as Simon Memmi
- 1824 GUIDA DELLA CITTÀ DI FIRENZE, FIRENZE, 95-97
Taddeo Gaddi .. rappresentò nella muraglia dalla parte d'occidente S. Tommaso .. dipinse .. la volta .. Simon Memmi dipinse le altre pareti
(Opinion repeated in subsequent editions)
- 1827 RUMOHR, II, 80-81
First to doubt Vasari's attributions .. In den .. Gemälden der linken Seitenwand .. unterlag das eigentlich Malerische der Ausführung den Reinigungen und Wiederherstellungen ungleich mehr, als die gegenüberliegende Wand
- 1835 FÖRSTER, BEITRÄGE ZUR NEUEREN KUNSTGESCHICHTE, LEIPZIG, 174-176
perhaps Giotto's school .. bin .. nicht in dem Stande, sie mit Bestimmtheit dem Symon ab- und einem andern Meister zuzusprechen; das Ergebnis .. ist nur, daß sie, solange .. nicht .. Documente sie als Symon's Arbeiten bethätigen (sic), unter dessen Werken nicht mehr genannt .. werden dürfen
- 1837 L'ILLUSTRATORE FIORENTINO, CALENDARIO PER L'ANNO 1838, FIRENZE, 39-44
le pareti e la volta da due .. pittori .. Taddeo Gaddi .. o Simone Memmi .. Al primo .. toccarono i quattro spartimenti della volta e la facciata occidentale; al secondo, le facciate di mezzogiorno, d'oriente e di tramontana .. finished before Mico Guidalotti's death

N.⁵¹ Fineschi (*Memorie*, 1787, 114 and 1790, 46) and after him Orlandi, (I, 1955, 480) claim that the Duke of Athens is represented in the Crucifixion; however their statements are so confused that it is impossible to identify which figure they are referring to.

- 1840 D'AGINCOURT, German ed., 122-123
Rejects Vasari's attribution to Simone Memmi and Taddeo Gaddi
- 1840 ROSINI, II, 96 et seq.
le quattro frescoes della volta colla parete a manca . . date a Taddeo . . le tre rimanenti . . a Simone . . Ciò porta a credere che quel lavoro to Gaddi fosse affidato . . dopo il 1336; che il Memmi, tornato di Francia lo trovasse cominciato.
- 1842 FANTOZZI, 519-522
da T. Gaddi e dal Memmi . . Quotes Mecatti's description
- 1845 FÖRSTER in KUNSTBLATT, STUTTGART UND TÜBINGEN, XXVI, 393
Symons von Siena Theilnahme . . ganz in Abrede zu stellen, Taddeo kann mit Zuversicht für den Urheber der Glorifikation des h. Thomas . . gehalten werden. Von wem . . die ganze Konzeption und von wem die übrigen Malereien herkommen . . noch im Dunkel; gewiß . . daß sie zum großen Theil . . in die zweite Hälfte des 14ten Jahrhunderts fallen
- 1845 MARCHESI, VINCENZO, MEMORIE DEI PIÙ INSIGNI PITTORI, SCULTORI E ARCHITETTI DOMENICANI, FIRENZE, I, 143-147
Simone Memmi tolse a dipingere tre parti; l'orientale, la meridionale e la settentrionale . . non poté operarvi prima dell'anno 1336 . . Secondo a dipingervi fu Taddeo Gaddi who painted parte occidentale and volta
(Opinion repeated in subsequent editions)
- 1846 VASARI, Le Monnier ed., II, 89 n. 4, 90 n. 1, 118 n. 1
Sono alcuni che dubitano se . . queste pitture siano di Simone; perchè pensano che nel 1355, anno in cui il Guidalotti . . fece testamento, non erano ancora finite; il che farebbe loro tenere che Simone, già da undici anni morto, non potesse avere avuto parte . . ragion vuole che quel testamento abbia voluto parlare, non delle pitture di Simone, da gran tempo finite, ma sibbene di quelle del Gaddi
- 1849 FÖRSTER in VASARI, Schorn ed., STUTTGART-TÜBINGEN, VI, 321
An den Gemälden . . hat Symon keinen Theil . . Geschichten des H. Ranieri . . zu Pisa (N.⁵²) tragen viele Zeichen der Übereinstimmung im Styl mit . . der Verherrlichung der Kirche in . . S. Maria Novella . . scheinen nach 1360 gemalt zu seyn
- 1855 BURCKHARDT, CICERONE, 1st ed., 751e, 759i, 760a, 764c, 768c, 770a, 772b, e
ausgemalt nach 1322 bis nach 1355, laut Vasari von Taddeo Gaddi und Symon von Siena, welchen man sie gegenwärtig aus Gründen abspricht . . wenigstens die Köpfe der Tugenden und Wissenschaften von einem trefflichen alten Sieneser
- 1864 CROWE AND CAVALCASELLE, 1st English ed., I, 370-375, 488; II, 85-89
The painter of the whole (i.e. the decoration of the walls) . . the same who began the series of S. Raineri at Pisa (cf. N.⁵²). If Andrea of Florence executed the latter, he also completed the former, but he is of the Siennese school . . Siennese by education, but, Florentine by birth . . The Crucifixion not by a single hand. The foreground figures . . may be the production of assistants . . scenes from the lives of SS. Dominick and Peter Martyr, executed by the same artists . . The ceilings: The compositions . . are Giottesque . . possibly . . of Taddeo Gaddi . . evidently executed by another hand. Antonio Veneziano probably painted the Navicella, the resurrection and the descent of the Holy Spirit; another pupil, the ascension (N.⁵³) . . Triumph of St. Thomas: much damage . . caused by repainting . . dress of . . Grammar is new and half the face and right hand gone . . dress of Donatus is repainted . . Rhetoric . . entirely repainted. Cicero . . restored so that he has three hands . . third holding his chin . . old . . others new . . The head . . altered in form by the repainting of . . figure above it . . Logic . . Part of the dress is repainted, as well as . . hat . . of Zeno . . Music . . Part of its green dress is damaged . . Astronomy . . arm raised, of which the hand is gone. The draperies . . here preserved . . head of Atlas, below . . good original state . . Geometry . . compass in its right is gone . . whole figure is much damaged by restoring . . Abraham, below Arithmetic . . well preserved as regards the head . . dress . . repainted . . Charity . . much damaged . . head only in part preserved the dress repainted. Hope, much damaged, carries a falcon on his fist, of which only the claw remains. John of Damascus, beneath . . fine figure . . Diogenes, below Faith . . well preserved figure . . Speculative theology and Peter Lombard beneath: heads . . preserved . . dress repainted . . Canon law . .

N.⁵² Cf. PLS. in Pt. II.

N.⁵³ This passage is from Vol. I, p. 374. Later on in the same volume (p. 488) greater emphasis is given to the participation of Antonio Veneziano.

- background .. repainted .. Civillaw .. head .. preserved .. dress repainted. Justinian .. all repainted .. Most of the nimbuses .. removed by .. repainting of .. background .. Church Militant: so altered by restoring .. few parts remain from which the original aspect can be judged .. like the other frescoes .. barbarously repainted .. backgrounds and part of .. dresses .. coloured anew in a tone that .. changed to a sort of orange .. Many of the heads .. repainted .. so as to conceal the nimbuses in part .. Emperor and king .. well preserved .. The heads in the group below .. fairly preserved .. Navicella: foreground and sky .. repainted, and throughout, the flesh tints .. damaged by damp .. Resurrection: in many parts damaged .. Magdalen .. repainted .. Pentecost: yellow ground of the upper scene is new .. blues of some dresses .. obliterated .. Ascension: Many of the dresses .. lost .. colour .. some are repainted
(Opinion repeated in German ed., 1869, I, 304-309; II, 64, 256-260; Douglas ed., II, 1903, 141-145, 285; III, 1908, 54-58; and Hutton ed., 1908, I, 309-313, 345, 407-408; II, 45-48)
- 1864 NARDINI DESPOTTI MOSPIGNOTTI, ARISTIDE, DELLA FACCIATA DEL DUOMO DI FIRENZE, LIVORNO, 26, 27
Vi sono gravi dubbi che Simone Memmi potesse dipingere nel Capitolo
- 1864 SCHNAASE, VII, 473-479
die verschiedenen Bilder .. von wenigstens zwei verschiedenen Meistern .. die, welche Vasari dem Taddeo zuschreibt, und mit ihnen die Geschichten des h. Dominicus auf der Eingangswand, von einem .. Schüler Giotto's die andern vielleicht von einem Seneser .. Taddeo's Weise alterthümlicher, als hier .. after 1355
(Opinion repeated in 2nd ed., 1876)
- 1866 BOITO, 13-14, 47
le pitture del Cappellone .. lo stile del Memmi è lì tanto palese che vince ogni dubbio .. il Gaddi potè forse dar l'ultimo compimento ai dipinti prima eseguiti .. and added the campanile (on the wrong side) to the Church Militant and Triumphant painted by Memmi
- 1867 KUGLER, FRANZ, HANDBUCH DER GESCHICHTE DER MALEREI, BERLIN, 3rd ed., I, 352-357
Gegenwärtig .. nennt man nicht ohne Grund einen Andreas v. Florenz
- 1869 BURCKHARDT, CICERONE, 2nd ed., 752 a
Nach Crowe und Cavalcaselle die Deckenbilder des Schiffs der Apostel, der Auferstehung und der Ausgiessung des h. Geistes, wahrscheinlich nach Taddeo's Composition von Antonio Veneziano, die Himmelfahrt von einem schwächeren Schulgenossen .. Die Wandbilder .. gleichen im Styl den im Camposanto zu Pisa dem Simone zugeschriebenen Werken (obere Reihe des Lebens des h. Ranieri; cf. N.⁵²), wahrscheinlich von Andrea da Firenze
(Opinion repeated in 3rd ed., 1874)
- 1870 FÖRSTER, II, 317-340
Accepts Crowe and Cavalcaselle's opinion according to which *die Compositionen der Deckenbilder von Taddeo Gaddi herrühren mögen, die ausführende Hand eine andere sei .. Ausgiessung des h. Geistes, sowie .. Thomas von Aquino .. ganz von Taddeo's Hand; das Siegesbild des Dominicaner-Ordens .. von .. Andrea da Firenze .. Auferstehung Christi .. in Taddeo's Weise .. der auch die .. Ausführung nicht .. widerspricht .. Kreuzigung .. nach einer Zeichnung Taddeo's ausgeführt .. ziemlich ungeübten Händen anvertraut .. Descent into Limbo .. ein Meister .. der .. bisher noch nicht mitgewirkt zu haben scheint .. legt in beinahe sienesischer Weise .. Nachdruck auf Feinheit und Schärfe der Zeichnung .. Himmelfahrt .. the execution by a skilful pupil of Taddeo .. Navicella .. gehört zu den am feinsten ausgeführten .. the frescoes on the entrance wall .. gehören .. zu den schwächsten .. und letzten Arbeiten der Capelle .. Ornamente scheinen sämmtlich von derselben Hand*
- 1871 NARDINI DESPOTTI MOSPIGNOTTI, ARISTIDE IL SISTEMA TRICUSPIDALE E LA FACCIATA DEL DUOMO DI FIRENZE, LIVORNO, 15-19, Appendix II
Il Cappellone .. fu preso a edificare nel 1350 .. le sue pitture non possono perciò essere di Simone da Siena .. scendono anch'esse al di quà del 1350; e nel 1355 restavano .. da farsi, o .. a terminarsi in buona parte
- 1876 RUSKIN, JOHN, MORNINGS IN FLORENCE, 89-138
Taddeo, or Taddeo and his son together painted .. the four quarters of the roof .. They were .. probably much retouched afterwards by Antonio Veneziano .. but the architecture in the descent of the Holy Ghost is by the man who painted the north transept of Assisi .. the ornamentation of the vaulting ribs is by the man who painted the Entombment, No. 31

- in .. the Academy (N.⁵⁴) .. Whether that picture is Taddeo's or not .. I do not know .. I have no doubt whatever, myself, that Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi worked together on the rest of the frescoes .. that most of the Limbo is Lippo's and the Paradise, scarcely with his interference, Simone's .. The roof and north side have been heavily repainted in many places; the rest is faded and injured, but not destroyed in its most essential qualities .. The female figures on the West wall .. repainted, many of them all over, some hundred years later .. Gives .. description of the state of these figures and of the men below
- 1878 HETTNER, H., in ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR BILDENDE KUNST, XIII, 1-11
zwei verschiedene Künstlerhände, wahrscheinlich die Hand eines Giottisten und die Hand eines Sienesen, deutlich unterscheidbar .. 1355 noch nicht vollendet .. Ostseite .. man pflegt .. die Ausführung jetzt meist Andrea da Firenze zuzuschreiben
- 1879 BURCKHARDT, CICERONE, 4th ed., II, 3; 495a
Crowe und Cavalcaselle vermuthen die Hand des Antonio Veneziano und des Andrea da Firenze, eine nicht recht überzeugende Conjectur
(Opinion persists until 7th ed., 1898)
- 1884 NISTRI, LUIGI, GUIDA DELLA CHIESA DI SANTA MARIA NOVELLA, FIRENZE, 24-27
Simone Memmi colorì i lati di Mezzogiorno, di Oriente e di Tramontana, Taddeo Gaddi il lato a Ponente e la volta
- 1885 CROWE AND CAVALCASELLE, Italian ed., II, 42-52, 222; III, 80-89
nulla s'opponne a credere che tra i pittori senesi che continuarono quel lavoro, si trovasse .. Andrea da Firenze
- 1887 GOTTI, AURELIO, DEL TRIONFO DI SAN TOMMASO D'AQUINO DIPINTO NEL CAPPELLONE DEGLI SPAGNOLI, FIRENZE, 2-35
possible che Taddeo Gaddi potesse veramente essere uno degli artefici che vi operarono after 1355 .. Rejects the participation of Simone; the three frescoes attributed to him perhaps executed by Lippo Memmi .. Triumph of St. Thomas .. così restaurata .. quasi .. rifatta .. Gives further detailed description of state
- 1896 SCHLOSSER IN AUSTRIAN JAHRBUCH XVII, 44-52
The authors .. in dem Kreise des Traini und Orcagna, der Meister des Campo Santo in Pisa, zu suchen
- 1897 BERTHIER, J.-J., LE TRIOMPHE DE SAINT THOMAS DANS LA CHAPELLE DES ESPAGNOLS À FLORENCE, FRIBOURG (SUISSE), 1 et seq.
de Taddeo Gaddi ou de ses disciples immédiats .. les travaux du Chapitre .. inaugurés en 1350 .. en 1355 .. la plus grande partie .. restait encore à décorer .. la fresque fut retouchée par le peintre Veracini .. les retouches rendent impossible tout contrôle
other stylistic attributions .. Gives detailed description of state based in great part on that of Gotti (see above under 1887)
- 1897 SCHMARSOW, AUGUST, FESTSCHRIFT ZU EHRENDEN KUNSTHISTORISCHEN INSTITUTS IN FLORENZ, LEIPZIG, 173 n. 1
Andrea da Firenze und .. Gehilfen
- 1899 SCHMARSOW, AUGUST, MASACCIO-STUDIEN, KASSEL, V, 104-106, III-III2
As Andrea da Firenze
- 1900 BACIOCCHI, MARIA, IL CHIOSTRO VERDE E LA CAPPELLA DEGLI SPAGNUOLI, FIRENZE, 37-101
gli spartimenti della volta e la parete di ponente .. del Gaddi .. le altre tre pareti del Simone Memmi .. ammettendo il concorso .. di .. Agnolo Gaddi, e .. di .. Lippo Memmi
- 1901 BURCKHARDT, CICERONE, 8th ed., II, 3; 600c
ausgemalt nach 1355 <vollendet nicht vor 1377> .. Andrea da Firenze .. dürfte, mit Ausnahme der Legendenscenen der Eingangswand, das Ganze zuzuschreiben sein
(Opinion repeated in 9th ed., 1904)
- 1902 WOOD, BROWN, J. 139-170; Addenda (b)
the roof, and at least the upper part of the west wall are Giottesque, while the rest of the building has been decorated in the style of the Sienese Masters .. after 1355 .. It can hardly be doubted that the frescoes point to the schools of the Gaddi and of Orcagna .. Quotes Guidalotti's testament of 1355 .. 1430 may have marked .. first considerable changes .. the lower part of the .. walls .. redecorated with geometrical patterns, either the same or

N.⁵⁴ For the frescoes in the north transept in the Lower Church of S. Francesco at Assisi, see C. H. Weigelt, *Giotto*, Stuttgart, 1925, 164 et seq; for the Entombment by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, now in S. Carlo, Florence, see Offner, *Florentine Studies*, 1927, after p. 96, fig. 3.

- similar to those we now see . . . under the fourteen powers of wisdom on the west wall . . . the original names and descriptions . . . not improbably . . . painted out at the same time*
- 1902 GUTHMANN, JOHANNES, DIE LANDSCHAFTSMALEREI DER TOSKANISCHEN UND UMBRISCHEN KUNST VON GIOTTO BIS RAFAEL, LEIPZIG, 95-98
wahrscheinlich Andrea da Firenze
- 1903 CHIAPPELLI, A., in NUOVA ANTOLOGIA, CIV, 535 et seq.
sembrano derivare dall'Orcagna o dalla sua scuola
- 1903 DOUGLAS in CROWE AND CAVALCASELLE, II, 144 n.
Triumph of St. Thomas . . . The ornamental framework of these figures has been repainted, and badly repainted. All the figures, too, have suffered from successive restorations
- 1903 PHILIPPI, ADOLF, FLORENZ, LEIPZIG, 1st ed., 65-69
Vielleicht . . . Andrea da Firenze
(Opinion repeated in 2nd ed., 1908)
- 1904 ROTHES, WALTER, DIE BLÜTEZEIT DER SIENESISCHEN MALEREI, STRASSBURG, 97-100
Nicht "Giotto-Schüler" sondern "Schüler der Sienesen"—mögen sie auch vorher lange in Giotto's Werkstatt gearbeitet haben und von Giotto's Geburt aus Florentiner sein—führten diese Allegorien aus
- 1907 SUPINO, I. B. in THIEME-BECKER, I, 542-453
As Andrea da Firenze . . . offenbar . . . Andrea di Bonaiuto . . . die Ausschmückung . . . wohl durchaus von einer Hand . . . kurz nach 1350
- 1907 VENTURI, V, 778-809
Andrea da Firenze, nel cappellone degli Spagnuoli . . . spiegò la infiltrazione de' principi artistici senesi nella pittura fiorentina
- 1907 WICKHOFF, F. in KUNSTGESCHICHTLICHE ANZEIGEN, IV, 46
der Maler des Hauptteiles der spanischen Kapelle (die Sprachverwirrung an der Decke hat noch ein anderer gemalt) und der Meister der obern Ranierobilder (cf. N.⁵²) sind ganz verschiedene Personen
- 1908 CRUTTWELL, CHURCHES, 198-203
show the influence of the Sienese and Florentine schools . . . probably . . . a little later than 1350 . . . completely repainted
- 1908 KRAUS, II, 2; 144-155
zwei verschiedene Hände in den großen Compositionen . . . jüngere Kräfte aus dem Kreise der Giotto'sken . . . 1355 noch nicht vollendet
- 1908 SIRÉN, GIOTTINO, 53-54, 56-57, 92
Andrea Bonaiuti (da Firenze) . . . Um 1370 . . . mit Benutzung von Hilfskräften
- 1908 SUIDA in MONATSHEFTE FÜR KUNSTWISSENSCHAFT, I, 1012
Ich zweifle . . . daß Sirén von Andrea Bonaiuti eine sehr deutliche Vorstellung hat, wenn er ihn . . . für den Autor der Deckenbilder der spanischen Kapelle hält. Diese sind . . . von den Wandbildern sehr verschieden . . . Hinweis auf Antonio Veneziano . . . der Wahrheit am nächsten
- 1908 SUIDA in REPERTORIUM, XXXI, 210
Cavalcaselles Annahme, die Malereien des Gewölbes seien von Antonio Veneziano, die der Wände von Andrea da Firenze, scheint mir noch immer zutreffend . . . 1355 begonnen
- 1910 BURCKHARDT, CICERONE, 10th ed., II, 3; 646b
Antonio Veneziano und . . . Andrea da Firenze; dem letzteren gehören alle Wandbilder, dem ersteren dürften die Deckengemälde zuzuschreiben sein . . . ausgemalt nach 1355 (vollendet nicht vor 1377)
- 1911 FREY in VASARI, I, 584, 584n.
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . . nach 1359
- 1912 GILLET, LOUIS, HISTOIRE ARTISTIQUE DES ORDRES MENDIANTS, PARIS, 5, 141-152
Il y en a eu certainement deux, l'un qui a décoré . . . la voûte, l'autre . . . qui a illustré les murs . . . On attribue ces fresques . . . à un certain André de Florence but the author supports the theory of a collaboration between two painters from Simone Martini's school
- 1913 CAROTTI, GIULIO, STORIA DELL'ARTE, MILANO, II, 927-938
Andrea da Firenze (Bonaiuto) . . . incominciò . . . intorno al 1355 e lo condusse a compimento negli anni successivi . . . col concorso di aiuti . . . affermato dalla . . . inferiorità di alcune parti, specialmente nella Resurrezione e nella Ascensione
- 1913 MATHER, F. J., in RASSEGNA D'ARTE, XIII, 200
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . . right wall . . . sembra che egli prendesse gli elementi principali . . . of the composition . . . della smarrita Fede di Giotto nel Palazzo di Parte Guelfa
- 1914 KHVOSHINSKY-SALMI, II, 39-40
Andrea da Firenze . . . verso il 1370
- 1915 DAMI, L., in BOLLETTINO D'ARTE, IX, 233-234
As Andrea Bonaiuti

- 1915 TARCHIANI, NELLO, FIRENZE, BERGAMO, 58
As Andrea Bonaiuti
(Opinion repeated in 1924 ed.)
- 1916 SCHUBRING, P., in VASARI, German ed., I, 2; 75 n. 13, 76 n. 14, 92 n. 21
von Andrea da Firenze . . zwischen 1360 und 1370
- 1916 TAURISANO, I., in IL ROSARIO, MEMORIE DOMENICANE, III, 90, 217 et seq., 224-225
(c) As Andrea Bonaiuti . . *eseguiti nel 1366 e 67* . . Publishes the document of 1365
- 1917 CHIAPPELLI, A., in ARTE E STORIA, XXXVI, 65 et seq.
See below under Papini, 1917
- 1917 MELANI, A., in ARTE E STORIA, XXXVI, 100, 233-235
gli affreschi non appartengono a un pennello solo, il fiorentinismo vi si intreccia al sienismo . . e non persuade il documento nuovo che attribuirebbe tutto il Cappellone ad Andrea di Bonaiuto o Andrea da Firenze . . Assumere un lavoro non vuol dire averlo eseguito
- 1917 PAPINI, C., in ARTE E STORIA, XXXVI, 33-41, 65-69, 97-100
pp. 33-41: Quotes Taurisano . . *a questo documento manca la sanzione del fatto compiuto*
pp. 65-69: Publishes a letter of Alessandro Chiappelli who writes: *Non credo sia da revocare in dubbio l'appartenenza di quei freschi . . ad Andrea di Bonaiuto . . Se mai il dubbio potrebbe rimanere circa i freschi della volta*
pp. 97-100: publishes a letter of Luigi Chiappelli and another of Alfredo Melani who writes: *le pitture di Firenze superano di gran lunga quelle di Pisa (cf. N.⁵²) e il documento esumato dal P. Taurisano non è definitivo*
- 1920 TOESCA in BOLLETTINO D'ARTE, XIV, 5
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . *tra il 1365 e il 1367*
- 1922 TOURING CLUB, ITALIA CENTRALE, II, 148-149
da And. da Firenze e aiuti (intorno al 1355)
(Opinion repeated in 2nd ed., 1929, and in Touring Club, Firenze, 1937, 1950 and 1964)
- 1922 VENTURI, L., in L'ARTE, XXV, 49
Andrea da Firenze . . analyses the relationship between the Navicella and Giotto's composition in S. Pietro, Rome
- 1924 VAN MARLE, III, 425-438
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . *assisted by some fellow artists . . the entire work is executed in one style . . only here and there . . we are able to detect a different hand . . perhaps other hands may be detected in the ornamentation of the ceiling . . The Descent of the Holy Ghost . . is the weakest . . in which we are unable to detect any elements of Andrea's art*
- 1924 SOULIER, GUSTAVE, LES INFLUENCES ORIENTALES DANS LA PEINTURE TOSCANE, PARIS, 72 n. 3, 154, 165, 214, 240, 259, 260, 263, 268-269
Andrea da Firenze . . exécutées à partir de 1355
- 1924 VITZTHUM-VOLBACH, 306-307
Andrea da Firenze . . die Fresken . . zeigen im Entwurf einen einheitlichen Stil, doch mögen bei der Ausführung verschiedene Schüler mitgearbeitet haben
- 1926 GOMBOSI, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23
Andrea da Firenze; notes in the landscapes a *durchgehende Profilstilisierung, die alle Details, ohne Rücksicht auf ihre Stellungen im Raume, in gerader Ansicht zeichnet . . In dieser Hinsicht ist Andrea ein unmittelbarer Nachfolger des Camposanto-Meisters (Traini?), von dem er ja auch im Motivischen abhängig zu sein scheint*
- 1928 SCHMARSOW, AUGUST, ITALIENISCHE KUNST IM ZEITALTER DANTES, AUGSBURG, I, 203-205
As Andrea Bonaiuti
- 1928 SOMMER V. SECKENDORF, E., in KUNSTWISSENSCHAFTLICHES JAHRBUCH DER GÖRRESGESELLSCHAFT, AUGSBURG, I, 40-46
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . *Mitarbeit der Schüler . . in der Malerei des Gewölbes und der Wand mit den Szenen aus dem Leben des Petrus Martir . . Datierung von 1366-1368 . . sehr wahrscheinlich*
- 1929-1930 CHIAPPELLI, A., in DEDALO, X, 199
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . *per la volta può rimanere tuttavia qualche dubbio*
- 1929 POGGI in ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA, III, 200
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . *pur rimanendo artista di secondo ordine . . dimostra qualità di piacevole narratore e decoratore*
- 1929 STEINWEG, 128
As Andrea Bonaiuti
- 1929 TOESCA, PITTURA FIORENTINA, 49-50 (English ed., 52; German ed., 60) As Andrea Bonaiuti . . *die Gedanken werden in these frescoes mit kühler Nüchternheit entwickelt, indem der Künstler die komplizierten Lehren in saubere Figuren übersetzt, ohne weder in Gedanken noch in Form eine Spur von wahrer Kunst zu offenbaren*

- 1930 BORENIUS, TANCRED, FLORENTINE FRESCOES, LONDON, 34-35
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *not .. without the aid of assistants*
- 1931 HAUTECOEUR, 169-171
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *On reconnaît plusieurs mains .. les restaurations ont transformé les figures des sciences et des savants*
- 1932 BERENSON, English ed., 11
Andrea (Bonaiuti) da Firenze
(Opinion repeated in Italian ed., 1936 and in Florentine School, I, 1963)
- 1932 GIGLIOLI, TOSCANA, BERGAMO, pls. 42, 43
Andrea da Firenze (Bonaiuti) .. verso il 1370
- 1936 LAVAGNINO, EMILIO, STORIA DELL'ARTE MEDIOEVALE ITALIANA, TORINO, 615
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *un colosso .. among contemporary Florentine painters .. maggiormente legato alla maniera senese .. accurato .. nel disegno, amante dei colori delicati e delle tinte chiare*
- 1936 SALVINI, 4, 9-10, 78, 109
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *La decorazione .. ebbe per l'ambiente fiorentino un'importanza di gran lunga superiore ai suoi meriti intrinseci .. la coscienziosa imitazione delle forme di Simone Martini .. was un efficace lezione. Per la prima volta in Firenze, abbandonato ogni preconconcetto gotico, lo svolgersi ininterrotto della linea .. costituiva l'impalcatura della composizione*
- 1937 GRONAU, H. D., 19, 46-47, 63, 81 n. 85
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *Im Triumph des heiligen Thomas gibt der Maler ein symmetrisch-abstraktes Bildsystem .. In dem .. Ecclesia Triumphans .. sind Einzelmotive bunt über die Wandfläche verstreut .. der scheinbare Gegensatz der Darstellungsweise .. is .. vom Inhalt her bedingt*
- 1937 ISERMAYER, 63-65
As Andrea Bonaiuti
- 1938 BRAUNFELS, WOLFGANG, SANTA MARIA NOVELLA, FIRENZE, 12-14
di Andrea da Firenze e di un suo aiuto .. Ascensione e Resurrezione .. probabilmente opere di aiuti .. intorno al 1365 .. restaurati appena .. parzialmente distrutti affreschi con la vita di San Pietro Martire e di San Domenico
- 1941 PAATZ in RÖMISCHES JAHRBUCH FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE, V, 204
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *Mentions only the figures in the ornamental bands o the vault*
- 1942 SALMI, L'ARTE ITALIANA, FIRENZE, II, 132
Andrea da Firenze, riecheggiando per iconografia Giotto e i senesi, ha una ferma scrittura calligrafica che segue Simone nel modulo formale .. nel figurare una brigata spensierata e fanciulle danzanti on the East wall ricordò sia il pisano .. Trionfo della Morte, sia il Buon Governo del Palazzo Pubblico di Siena
- 1946 COLETTI, II, pp. LIV et seq., LXVIII
The vaults by an artista nella sfera d'influenza degli Orcagna ed in ispecie di Nardo, non senza elementi di cultura gaddiana e masiana .. The walls .. by Andrea Bonaiuti .. con aiuti .. "Trionfo di San Tomaso" .. almeno due mani .. nel registro superiore .. un pittore di formazione affine a quella del maestro che dipinse la volta, ma non lui stesso. Nella parte inferiore .. Andrea si alterna ad un assai più fine pittore nardesco
- 1947 ANTAL, 142, 149, 170, 199-203, 207, 234, 247-251, 259 n. 54, 283, 339,
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *frescoes represent the qualitative zenith of popular tendencies in art .. a continuation of tendencies displayed by Traini, Orcagna and Nardo di Cione .. a renewed contact .. with Sieneese influence .. most of the saints in Paradise appear to have been painted, as Mr. P. Pouncey suggests, by Jacopo di Cione (working from the design of Andrea da Firenze)*
- 1951 MEISS, 23, 31, 33-34, 39 et seq., 53, 79, 94 et seq., 166, 168
ca. 1366-1368 .. In the execution .. Andrea Bonaiuti of course had assistance. The hands of followers are apparent especially in the group of saints in Paradise and in the Ascension, a fresco painted entirely by an assistant, though Andrea very probably provided the design. Numerous figures in the Apotheosis of St. Thomas, and parts of the background, have been repainted
(Opinion repeated in new ed., 1964)
- 1951 TOESCA, IL TRECENTO, 639-642
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *borrowed from Sieneese painters il profilare netto, con andamenti calligrafici che rammentano Bartolo di Fredi .. il modellare scarno, il senso del colore .. c. 1365 .. la Pentecoste e la Navicella .. da un seguace di Maso*
- 1952 PAATZ, III, 721-722, 814 n. 308, 815 n. 309, 816 n. 310, n. 311, n. 312
von Andrea Bonaiuti da Firenze, 1365ff. .. Erhaltungszustand .. gut .. Eingangswand ..

- mittlere Zone zerstört .. Sockelstreifen .. an der Eingangswand zum Teil und in den Fensterleibungen ganz erneuert
- 1953 HAUSER, ARNOLD, SOZIALGESCHICHTE DER KUNST UND LITERATUR, MÜNCHEN, I, 307
belongs zu den fortschrittlichsten künstlerischen Schöpfungen des Zeitalters
- 1953 OERTEL, 181-183
um 1366-1368 von Andrea da Firenze .. So folgerichtig der inhaltliche Aufbau, so einheitlich und in sich geschlossen ist auch die künstlerische Durchführung. Es ist ein architektonisch-malerisches Gesamtkunstwerk .. Der Stil der Fresken .. ist die Frucht eines gleichsam unpersönlichen akademischen Könnens (Opinion repeated in 2nd ed., 1966 and in English ed., 1968)
- 1954 GNUDI, CESARE, LES GRANDS SIECLES DE LA PEINTURE. LA PEINTURE GOTHIQUE. GENÈVE-PARIS-NEW YORK, 109
les fresques, de 1365, par Andrea Bonaiuti .. ont un caractère particulier. C'est un cycle allégorique à intention démonstrative; tout en n'atteignant que rarement à une expression poétique, cette oeuvre est sans aucun doute fort singulière. Elle montre que le langage pictural à Florence pouvait affronter et développer des thèmes narratifs et doctrinaux, tout en ne s'appuyant que sur des données purement culturelles
- 1955 ORLANDI, I, 460-461, 490, 539-543, 617-618; II, 395, 438-439, 443
As Andrea Bonaiuti
- 1956 ORLANDI, STEFANO, S. MARIA NOVELLA E I SUOI CHIOSTRI MONUMENTALI, FIRENZE, 43 et seq.
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *Fra Salvatore da Ascanio, al suo tempo, fece restaurare tutto il cappellone .. da Agostino Veracini .. South wall, dopo che il Capitolo divenne Cappellone della colonia spagnola .. fu costruita una grande tribuna .. gran parte degli affreschi venne distrutta*
- 1959 CASTELNUOVO, E., in ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSALE DELL'ARTE, VENEZIA-ROMA, VI, 443
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *ciclo di affreschi interessante per concettosa iconografia, ma di rilievo artistico non eccezionale*
- 1959 LASAREV, VIKTOR, ИСКУССТВО ТРЕЧЕНО, PART II, MOSCOW, 79-81, 194-198
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. style near to tradition of Nardo di Cione also certain contacts with Giovanni da Milano but, above all, largely inspired by Sienese artists. His female types recall Simone Martini and Bartolo di Fredi, his compositions those of Barna at Asciano
- 1959 SALVINI, ROBERTO, LA SCUOLA FIORENTINA, PITTURA ITALIANA, MILANO, I, 150-152
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *la sua sciolta, seneseggiante maniera contribuì alla formazione del gusto vulgato della pittura fiorentina della fine del secolo .. Opera prosastica .. quasi un onesto sermone pittorico*
- 1959 SANDBERG-VAVALÀ, STUDIES IN THE FLORENTINE CHURCHES, PART I, FLORENCE, 163, 168, 182-196, 197, 198, 203, 211-212
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *unswerving homogeneity of style .. the upper zone of the Church Militant and the .. Ascension .. noticeably weaker*
- 1960 BORSOOK, EVE, THE MURAL PAINTERS OF TUSCANY, LONDON, 140-141
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *assistants had a considerable part .. certainly responsible for the saints in Paradise and for the entire Ascension scene .. much was painted al secco which .. has required frequent retouching. Damage caused by moisture has led to many restorations .. The geometrical patterns on the piers and lower borders of the walls were repainted as early as 1430 (N.⁵⁵) and, in one area of the Liberal Arts .. evidence of a Ghirlandaiesque restoration later in the 15th century*
- 1960 PROCACCI, SINOPIE, 33, 39, 40; figs. XXXI, XXXVII, XLIV, XLV
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *Un esempio .. del non immedesimarsi del colore con l'intonaco .. in alcune delle pitture .. nel Cappellone .. più evidente nella figura del re Salomone .. il rosso di preparazione del manto .. è colato addirittura oltre i margini della veste .. le scolature .. poi ricoperte e nascoste da altro colore che, posto sull'intonaco ancor più indurito, ha offerto resistenza anche minore all'azione del tempo .. Mentions .. il .. disegno of Arius .. Accanto alla figura di Pitagora .. disegni che ripetono le parti*

N.⁵⁵ Wood Brown is the first to give this information, but he does not refer to any source for the date, see above under 1902.

- ornamentali degli stalli su cui siedono le Arti Liberali; e sopra a quelli, eseguita con il pennello in color seppia, la figura stessa a mezzo busto di Pitagora. Rapido appunto dell'artista prima di incominciare il lavoro, oppure esercitazione di scolaro che del maestro copiava la pittura già condotta a termine? La mediocrità del disegno fa propendere senza altro per questa seconda ipotesi
- 1961 DEWALD, ERNEST T., ITALIAN PAINTING 1200-1600, NEW YORK, 173-176
Andrea da Firenze . . c. 1366-1367
- 1961 MARCUCCI in DIZIONARIO BIOGRAFICO DEGLI ITALIANI, ROMA, III, 83-84
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . collaboratori. Due . . abbastanza riconoscibili, entrambi di educazione oragnesca: uno, molto vicino alla Pentecoste dell'Accademia (probabilmente del giovane Spinello Aretino; N.⁵⁶) . . nella Navicella e in parte nella Pentecoste . . Un altro . . ricorda Iacopo di Cione . . appare saltuariamente in varie parti, specialmente nelle Storie di san Pietro Martire. Dove risaltano . . le tipiche caratteristiche di Andrea, avvalorate oggi dalla rimozione della ridipintura settecentesca, è nei due . . Trionfi e nella Crocifissione tra la Salita al Calvario e la Discesa al Limbo.
- 1962 VASARI, GIORGIO, LE VITE DE' PIÙ ECCELLENTI PITTORI, SCULTORI E ARCHITETTI. ED. P. DELLA PERGOLA, L. GRASSI E G. PREVITALI, (notes by G. Previtali and P. Ceschi), MILANO, I, 207 n. 2
il mediocre pittore fiorentino Andrea di Bonaiuti . . Le identificazioni dei personaggi ritratti . . sono, evidentemente, di fantasia
- 1962 PREVITALI, G., in PARAGONE, XIII, May, 42; figs. 40a, b
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . Mentions the copies of the frescoes made by Humbert De Superville now in the Accademia, Venice, of which he reproduces a detail of the Ascension (N.⁵⁷) . . De Superville believed the frescoes opera massima di Simone Martini
- 1963 LONGHI, R., in PARAGONE, XIV, March, 21
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . l'opera forse più reazionaria di tutto il Trecento
- 1964 BALDINI, U., in KINDLERS MALEREI LEXIKON, ZÜRICH, I, 102-104
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . um 1365 . . Allegorie der Kirche . . Kreuzigung . . Höllenfahrt . . Auferstehung . . Triumph des hl. Thomas Himmelfahrt Christi . . von anderer Hand und wohl auch aus früherer Zeit . . Pfingstwunder und . . Schifflin Petri . . plastischer und breiter angelegt, wodurch sie mehr der Gedankenwelt des Maso . . anzugehören scheinen
- 1964 GABINETTO DISEGNI E STAMPE DEGLI UFFIZI, XIX, MOSTRA DI DISEGNI DI D. P. HUMBERT DE SUPERVILLE, FIRENZE, 30, No. 16; 31, No. 17; fig. 12
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . mentions the drawings by De Superville (cf. N.⁵⁷) of the frescoes in the Spanish Chapel, attributed by him to Simone Memmi: a detail of the Ascension and of the Church Militant and Triumphant (Venezia, Galleria dell'Accademia, Nos. 1256, 1277; N.⁵⁸) and a third, subject not specified (No. 1257)
- 1964 POLZER, J., in ART BULLETIN, XLVI, 466 n. 30, 468, 468 n. 39
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . Triumph of Thomas elaborated after the Simonesque panel in Santa Caterina in Pisa (N.⁵⁹)
- 1966 WHITE, JOHN, ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN ITALY, 1250 TO 1400, HARMONDSWORTH, MIDDLESEX, 371-373
As Andrea Bonaiuti . . There is an almost tapestry-like effect, and the upward movement through a wealth of detail to a point of final concentration high on either wall establishes the vertical connexion with the iconographically linked and predominantly ascending themes upon the vaults . . Where Ambrogio Lorenzetti ran the gamut from pure allegory to pure landscape naturalism, Andrea's realism is almost exclusively confined to details
- 1966 in CRITICA D'ARTE, XIII, October-December, 36, No. 72
la miscela di fango e di nafta . . arrivata a superare tutto il basamento degli affreschi di Andrea da Firenze during the flood of that year

N.⁵⁶ *Corpus*, Sec. IV, Vol. I, PLS. VI-VI¹⁰.

N.⁵⁷ Humbert De Superville (1770-1849) and William Young Ottley travelled through Tuscany in 1798 (see G. Previtali in *Paragone*, XIII, 1962, May, 41).

N.⁵⁸ See PLS. IX⁷, II³.

N.⁵⁹ Reprod. in van Marle, V, 1925, between pp. 204 and 205.

- 1967 BELLOSI, L., in PARAGONE, XVIII,
(e) January, 85-86
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. To fig. 13, 'Discesa di Cristo al Limbo': Lo stacco di tono indica chiaramente il livello raggiunto dalle acque .. To fig. 14: In questo particolare di 'lupo e agnello' .. si vede chiaramente il livello raggiunto dalla piena (segnato .. da .. caduta di colore) e quello, dopo pochi giorni già assai più alto ma irregolare, dove l'umidità si è ancora estesa per capillarità. È questa la condizione di tutti gli affreschi raggiunti, anche solo alla base, dalle acque dell'inondazione .. si pone per essi, con rinnovata urgenza, il problema del distacco
- 1967 VON ERFFA, H. M., in KUNSTCHRONIK, XX, 197
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. Allegorie der streitenden und der triumphierenden Kirche. Die ganze (originale) Basis und die szenischen Darstellungen bis in 60 cm Höhe .. schwer vom Wasser und Heizöl betroffen; auch die darüberliegenden Teile sind gefährdet durch die mit dem Wasser aufsteigenden Salze, die unter der Malschicht kristallisieren und diese absprenge .. Trocknung durch Heizluftzufuhr and die aufgegrabenen Fundamente .. erfolgreich .. noch nicht abgeschlossen
- 1967 LUCCHI, A., in, TESORI D'ARTE CRISTIANA, FIRENZE, S. MARIA NOVELLA. BOLOGNA, III, 250-252
Il restauro in corso ha rivelato la particolare finezza pittorica del Andrea Bonaiuti, prima offuscata da ridipinture
- 1967 SHEARMAN, J., in PARAGONE, XVIII,
(d) January, 29; figs. 13, 14
miscela di acqua e nafta .. salita fino a coprire di circa un piede il basso degli affreschi parietali di Andrea da Firenze
- 1968 CONTI, A., in PARAGONE, XIX, September, 21 n. 8
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. mentions only Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas and suggests that St. Thomas's throne reflects the original aspect of the Strozzi Chapel altarpiece
- 1970 HARTT, FREDERICK, A HISTORY OF ITALIAN RENAISSANCE ART, LONDON, 95-97, 106
Andrea da Firenze .. through oversight dates the frescoes to c. 1350 under colour-plate facing p. 101
- UNDATED
c. ROMAGNOLI, ETTORE, in his unpublished biographies of famous Sienese (Ms. in Biblioteca Comunale, Siena), 607-615
1820 *Simone Martini .. Per la militante ritrasse il modello della chiesa di S. M. del Fiore dall'originale lasciato da Arnolfo di Lapo .. non effigiò nel Duomo fiorentino il campanile ideato da Giotto nel terminare dello stesso anno, nè .. il prospetto incominciato col disegno dello stesso Giotto .. Questo dipinto .. ci dà memoria del bel disegno di Arnolfo*
BAZIN, GERMAIN, LA PEINTURE ITALIENNE AUX XIV^e ET XV^e SIÈCLES, PARIS, 21
As Andrea Bonaiuti .. *fresques .. composant en un savant éclecticisme la plastique giottesque et le pittoresque siennois*

Drawings

- H. DE SUPERVILLE, GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA, VENICE
J. A. RAMBOUX, STÄDELSCHES KUNSTINSTITUT, FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN (cf. HANS-JOACHIM ZIEMKE, JOHANN ANTON RAMBOUX UND DIE FRÜHE ITALIENISCHE KUNST, INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION DER GOETHE-UNIVERSITÄT, FRANKFURT A. M., 1963, 242-247)

Engravings

- C. BOITO, FRANCESCO TALENTI, MILANO, 1866, Vol. XIII, Tav. XIX
L. CICOGNARA, STORIA DELLA SCULTURA DAL SUO RISORGIMENTO IN ITALIA FINO AL SECOLO DI CANOVA, VENEZIA 1813, I, pl. XLIII
D'AGINCOURT. Italian ed., TAVOLE, 1829, pl. CXXII
E. FÖRSTER, DENKMALE ITALIENISCHER MALEREI, LEIPZIG, 1873, I, pls. 27, 28
M. P. GUASTI BADIANI in PRATO, 1964, V, April, 63
M. LASTRI, L'ETRURIA PITTRICE, FIRENZE, 1791, I, pls. X, XI
P. LITTA, FAMIGLIE CELEBRI ITALIANE, 2^a serie, vol. A-B, MILANO, 1844, pl. 4
J. A. RAMBOUX, UMRISSE ZUR VERANSCHAULICHUNG ALTCHRISTLICHER KUNST IN ITALIEN VOM JAHR 1200 BIS 1600, CÖLN, 1858, VII, pls. 91-94

ROSINI, TAVOLE, 1839, pls. XIII, XV
W. YOUNG OTTLEY, A SERIES OF PLATES ENGRAVED AFTER THE PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES OF THE MOST EMINENT MASTERS OF THE EARLY FLORENTINE SCHOOL, LONDON, 1826, pl. XXVIII

Etchings

C. L. KUHLEBEIL, STUDIEN NACH ALTEN FLORENTINISCHEN MAHLERN, BERLIN, fascicle II, 1812, pls. XIII-XVII, XIX-XXV

Photographs

VIEWS OF THE CHAPEL AND WALLS (including more than 1 fresco)

Alinari, Florence, 2294, 52113, 52114, 52121
Brogi, Florence, 16060
Soprintendenza, Florence, 104654-104656

TRIUMPH OF ST. THOMAS

Alinari, Florence, 4077-4089, 51213, 52115-52120, 58165, 58166
Anderson, Rome, 8193-8196
Brogi, Florence, 1746, 1757-1762, 6687-6697, 25593-25598, 25609
Soprintendenza, Florence, 112845, 112846, 112849-112859, 112861-112863, 113949, 113950, 113951, 123303, 161713-161729

CHURCH MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT

Alinari, Florence, 4100-4109b, 31004, 51212, 58159-58162, 58167
Anderson, Rome, 8203-8209, 8211-8215
Brogi, Florence, 1749, 1750, 1752, 6700, 6701, 6704-6715, 14479, 15370, 15371, 25599-25601
Soprintendenza, Florence, 52741, 123304, 135548, 161743, 161745-161767

CRUCIFIXION

Alinari, Florence, 4110-4115, 51211, 58163, 58164
Anderson, Rome, 8197-8202
Brogi, Florence, 1748, 1753-1756, 1766, 1768, 1769, 6698, 6699, 6701a-6703, 14170, 14171, 16060, 25586-25592.
Soprintendenza, Florence, 52727, 52735, 52736, 161730-161742

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. PETER MARTYR

Alinari, Florence, 4094-4099, 49244, 49245
Brogi, Florence, 6716-6721
Soprintendenza, Florence, 161768-161789

VAULT

Soprintendenza, Florence, 195641

PENTECOST

Alinari, Florence, 4093

Anderson, Rome, 8219

Brogi, Florence, 1747, 1751, 1767, 6722, 25602, 25604, 25605

Soprintendenza, Florence, 52733, 114432, 114484, 114485, 118519, 118520, 118522, 161683, 161684, 161686-161688

NAVICELLA

Alinari, Florence, 4091

Anderson, Rome, 8217

Brogi, Florence, 1764, 1765, 6724, 25606, 25607

Soprintendenza, Florence, 52734, 161689-161694

RESURRECTION

Alinari, Florence, 4090

Anderson, Rome, 8216

Brogi, Florence, 6723

Soprintendenza, Florence, 118523, 118526, 118530, 118531, 118534-118539, 118542, 118544-118546, 118548, 118550-118552, 118554, 118556, 118558, 118559, 161704-161709

ASCENSION

Alinari, Florence, 4092

Anderson, Rome, 8218

Brogi, Florence, 1763, 6725, 25603

Soprintendenza, Florence, 52731, 111514, 161695-161702

ORNAMENTATION

Soprintendenza, Florence, 111515-111518, 112848, 112860, 118549, 118553, 161710-161712

INDICES _(N.)

N. Bibliographical references are omitted from the indices of both artists and places.

INDEX OF ARTISTS (N.)

- ALLORI, ALESSANDRO, 18 n. 10
- ANDREA DA FIRENZE, *see* BONAIUTI, ANDREA
- ANDREA DI CIONE, 7, 7 n. 2, 11 n. 6, 20, 29, 29 n. 22, 41, 43, 48, 62, 62 n. 6
- ANGELICO (FRA GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE), 42, 42 n. 28
- ANGELICO (FRA GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE), SCHOOL OF, 28 n. 9
- ANTONIO VENEZIANO, 63, 63 n. 8, 70, 71, 87 n. 53
- ARNOLFO DI CAMBIO, 33 n. 1
- ASSISTANT OF DADDI, 18 n. 10, 83 n. 41
- BARNA DA SIENA, 46 n. 8, 47 n. 10, 49 n. 17
- BARNABA DA MODENA, 14 n. 15
- BIADAILO ILLUMINATOR, 30
- BONAIUTI, ANDREA, 3 *et seq.*
- BOTTICELLI, SANDRO, 24 n. 13
- CAVALLINI, SCHOOL OF, 65 n. 1
- CIMABUE, 40 n. 23
- DADDI, BERNARDO, 20, 53 n. 8, 68
- DADDI, BERNARDO, CLOSE FOLLOWER OF, 68 n. 10
- DUCCIO, 47 n. 12
- GADDI, AGNOLO, 40 n. 22, 70 n.
- GADDI, TADDEO, 8, 20, 38 n. 11, 58, 59, 65 n. 1, n. 3, 67 n. 2, 68, 78, 79
- GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRÒ, 12 n. 11, 65 n. 1, n. 3, 67 n. 3, 69 n., 89 n. 54
- GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO, AND WORKSHOP, 17 n. 1
- GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO, ASSISTANT OF, 69 n.
- GHERARDUCCI, DON SILVESTRO DEI, 57 n.
- GIOTTESQUE, 46 n. 2, 58
- GIOTTO, 20, 30, 40 n. 23, 62, 65 n. 3
- GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO, 20 n. 16, 29 n. 22, 83 n. 36
- GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO AND ASSISTANTS, 20 n. 16
- GOZZOLI, BENOZZO, 24 n. 12
- GOZZOLI, BENOZZO (assisted), 29 n. 21
- GUARIENTO, 25 n. 15
- JACOPO DI CIONE, 46 n. 8
- JACOPO DI CIONE (WITH WORKSHOP), 12 n. 11, 69 n.
- LORENZETTI, AMBROGIO, 17 n. 5, 19 n. 13, 28, 28 n. 11, 37
- LORENZETTI, AMBROGIO (attributed to), 46
- LORENZETTI, PIETRO, 20, 46
- MARTINI, SIMONE, 8, 8 n. 13, 40 n. 23, 47 n. 9, 49 n. 17, 78, 79
- MARTINI, SIMONE, (attributed to), 46
- MARTINI, SIMONE, SCHOOL OF, 29, 30 n. 26
- MASO DI BANCO, 80 n. 20
- MASTER OF THE BIGALLO BANDERUOLE, 53 n. 8
- MASTER OF THE DOMINICAN EFFIGIES, 37 n. 6
- MASTER OF THE FABRIANO ALTARPIECE, 65 n. 3
- MASTER OF THE LEHMAN CRUCIFIXION, 46, 67, 67 n. 7
- MASTER OF THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL (Assisi), 65 n. 3
- MASTER OF THE RINUCCINI CHAPEL, 65 n. 3
- MASTER OF THE VELE, 30
- MASTER OF THE VIRGIN OF MERCY, 42 n. 29
- NARDO DI CIONE, 7, 7 n. 1, 40 n. 21, 40 n. 23, 68
- NARDO DI CIONE AND ASSISTANTS, 20 n. 16
- NARDO DI CIONE, FOLLOWING OF, 67
- NEAPOLITAN, MID-XIV CENTURY, 22 n. 5
- NELLI, PLAUTILLA, 82
- NICCOLÒ DI GIACOMO, 24 n. 12, 25 n. 16
- NICCOLÒ DI TOMMASO, 40 n. 20
- ORCAGNA, *see* ANDREA DI CIONE
- ORCAGNESQUE, 13 n. 11, 58 n. 3, 65 n. 1, n. 3, *see also* MASTER OF THE LEHMAN CRUCIFIXION
- PACINO DI BUONAGUIDA, 46 n. 3, 47 n. 12, 65 n. 3, 69
- PACINO DI BUONAGUIDA, WORKSHOP OF, 65 n. 1

N. Paintings bearing a designation that contains the word Master are listed under Master.

PISANO, ANDREA, WORKSHOP OF, 24 n. 13,
25 n. 15
PISANO, GIOVANNI, 24, n. 13, 46 n. 3
PISANO, NICOLA, 24 n. 12, n. 13, 27 n. 2, 37 n. 6
POCETTI (?), BERNARDINO, 78
POLLAIUOLO, ANTONIO, 22 n. 5, n. 7, 24 n. 13
RAPHAEL, 24 n. 12
RISTORI, ANDREA, 8 n. 15
ROSSELLO DI JACOPO FRANCHI, 53
SANO DI PIETRO, 53 n. 6

SUPERVILLE, HUMBERT DE, 94 n. 57
TALENTI, FRANCESCO, 33 n. 1
TALENTI, FRA JACOPO, 83, 83 n. 40, 84 n. 44
TRAINI, FRANCESCO, 41
TRAINI, FRANCESCO, FOLLOWER OF, 46
VANNI, ANDREA, 63 n. 8
VENEZIANO, ANTONIO, see ANTONIO
VENEZIANO
VENTURA DI MORO, 53
VERACINI, AGOSTINO, 8, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82

INDEX OF PLACES (N.)

ALTENBURG

Staatl. Lindenau-Museum

ANTONIO VENEZIANO, Right wing of a tabernacle:
six apostles (No. 19), 71

ASSISI

S. Francesco, Lower Church

LORENZETTI, PIETRO, Frescoes, 89 n. 54; Crucifixion, 46, 48; Resurrection, 68

LORENZETTI, PIETRO, FOLLOWER OF, Fresco: Way to Calvary, 47, 47 n. 9

MASTER OF THE VELE, Fresco: Glory of St. Francis, 30

S. Francesco, Lower Church, Magdalen Chapel
MASTER OF THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL, Fresco: Noli me tangere, 65 n. 3

AVIGNON

Musée Calvet

UNKNOWN ARTIST AFTER 1372, Alabaster bust of Pope Urban V, 39 n. 15

BERLIN-DAHLEM

Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatl. Museen, Gemäldegalerie

GADDI, TADDEO, Quatrefoil from sacristy cupboard in S. Croce: Pentecost (No. 1073), 58

Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatl. Museen, Kupferstichkabinett

MID-XIV CENTURY NEAPOLITAN, Illumination in Hamilton Bible: Creation of the World (Ms. 78 E 3, f. 4r), 22 n. 5

PACINO DI BUONAGUIDA, WORKSHOP OF, Illumination: Resurrection (No. 1230), 65 n. 1

BESANÇON

Bibliothèque Municipale

C. 1260, Illumination in a Psalter from the diocese of Basle: Noli me tangere (Ms. 54, f. 19v), 65 n. 3

BRUSSELS

Feron-Stoclet, Mme.

MASTER OF THE FABRIANO ALTARPIECE, Predella panel: Noli me tangere, 65 n. 3

CAMBRIDGE

Fitzwilliam Museum

PACINO DI BUONAGUIDA, WORKSHOP OF, Illumination: Resurrection (No. 194), 65 n. 1

CHARTRES

Cathedral, West façade, Archivolt of right tympanum of Portail Royal

FRENCH, XII CENTURY, Bas-relief: figure of Dialectic, 24 n. 13

CORSHAM COURT (Wiltshire)

Lord Methuen

MASTER OF THE FABRIANO ALTARPIECE, Tabernacle, 65 n. 3

FLORENCE

CHURCHES AND CONVENTS

Cathedral, see S. Maria del Fiore

S. Carlo dei Lombardi

GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO, Entombment, 89 n. 54

S. Croce, Choir

GADDI, AGNOLO, Fresco: Entry of Heraclius into Jerusalem, 40 n. 22

S. Croce, Bardi Chapel

GIOTTO, Fresco: Apparition at Arles, 52 n. 3, 53

S. Croce, Bardi di Vernio Chapel

GADDI, TADDEO, Fresco: Entombment, 38 n. 11

MASO DI BANCO, Frescoes: scenes from the life of St. Sylvester, 80 n. 20

S. Croce, Sacristy

GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO, Fresco: Resurrection, 65 n. 1, 67 n. 3

GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO, ASSISTANT OF, Fresco: Ascension, 69 n.

S. Croce, Sacristy, Rinuccini Chapel

MASTER OF THE RINUCCINI CHAPEL, Fresco: Resurrection, 65 n. 3, 81, 81 n. 26

S. Felicita, Chapter-hall

GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO, AND WORKSHOP, Fresco: Crucifixion, 17 n. 1

S. Jacopo sopr'Arno

VERACINI, AGOSTINO, Death of St. Francis, 81

N. Unless otherwise stated, the work is a panel painting. A number of the paintings included in this volume have been temporarily removed from their locations after being damaged in the 1966 flood and are now undergoing restoration at the Fortezza da Basso.

FLORENCE <continued>

- S. Maria del Fiore, Campanile (formerly)
PISANO, ANDREA, WORKSHOP OF, Reliefs: The Liberal Arts, 24 n. 13, 25 n. 15
- S. Maria Novella
BONAIUTI, ANDREA, Stained-glass in the rose window, 42, 70
- S. Maria Novella, Strozzi Chapel, entrance arch and vault
GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO (ASSISTED), Frescoes: four church fathers and four medallions with St. Thomas Aquinas and Virtues, 19, 20 n. 16, 22 n. 3, 29, 29 n. 22
- S. Maria Novella, Strozzi Chapel
ANDREA DI CIONE, Polyptych, 29, 29 n. 22, 48, 62, 62 n. 6
- NARDO DI CIONE AND ASSISTANTS*, Frescoes: Last Judgment; Paradise; Hell, 20 n. 16, 40 n. 21, n. 23, 80 n. 20
- S. Maria Novella, Chiostro dei Morti
NARDO DI CIONE, FOLLOWING OF, Fresco: Resurrection, 67
- S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde, Spanish Chapel
BONAIUTI, ANDREA, Frescoes, 3 et seq.
- S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde, Spanish Chapel (formerly)
ALLORI, ALESSANDRO, Martyrdom of St. James, 18 n. 10
- NELLI, PLAUTILLA*, Last Supper, 82
- S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde, Spanish Chapel, Corpus Domini Chapel
DADDI, ASSISTANT OF, Polyptych, 18 n. 10, 83 n. 41
- POCCETTI (?)*, *BERNARDINO*, Frescoes, 78
- S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde, Refectory
NELLI, PLAUTILLA, Last Supper, 82
- S. Maria Nuova (formerly)
BONAIUTI, ANDREA, AND GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO, St. Luke (lost), 7, 12 n. 11
- S. Miniato al Monte
GADDI, AGNOLO, Ascension, 69 n.
- S. Pier Maggiore (formerly)
JACOPO DI CIONE (WITH WORKSHOP) AND ORCAGNESQUE PAINTER, S. Pier Maggiore Altarpiece, 12 n. 11
- GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO*, Design for S. Pier Maggiore Altarpiece, 12 n. 11
- S. Spirito, Chapter-hall (formerly)
LORENZETTI, AMBROGIO, OR MARTINI, SIMONE, ATTRIBUTED TO, Fresco: Crucifixion (lost), 17 n. 1, 46

S. Trinita, Strozzi Chapel

- MASTER OF THE FABRIANO ALTARPIECE*, Fresco: Noli me tangere, 65 n. 3

PUBLIC COLLECTIONS

- Accademia (Gallery)
GADDI, TADDEO, Quatrefoils from sacristy-cupboard: Resurrection (No. 8591), 38 n. 11, 65 n. 1, 67 n. 2, 68; Noli me tangere (No. 8592), 65 n. 3
- MAGDALEN MASTER*, the Magdalen and scenes from her life (No. 8466), Noli me tangere, 65 n. 3
- PACINO DI BUONAGUIDA*, Tree of Life (No. 8459), 46 n. 3, 65 n. 3
- Biblioteca Nazionale
FLORENTINE, MID-XIV CENTURY, The Liberal Arts in Panegyricus (B. R. 38, formerly II. I. 27, ff. 32^v-34^r), 25 n. 16
- MASTER OF THE DOMINICAN EFFIGIES*, Illumination: Initial C, half-length figure of a seated woman symbolizing Corporeal Beauty (Cod. Palat. 600), 37 n. 6
- Museo del Bigallo
MASTER OF THE BIGALLO BANDERUOLE, St. Peter Martyr distributing the banners, 52 n. 1, 53 n. 8
- ROSSELLO DI JACOPO FRANCHI AND VENTURA DI MORO*, Fresco: St. Peter Martyr's Sermon and the distribution of the banners, 53, 53 n. 7
- Museo Nazionale, Cappella del Podestà
GIOTTESQUE MASTER, Fresco: Noli me tangere, 65 n. 3
- Museo dell'Opera di S. Croce
ANDREA DI CIONE (ASSISTED), Fresco-fragment: Triumph of Death, 41, 41 n. 26, 42-43
- Museo dell'Opera del Duomo
PISANO, ANDREA, WORKSHOP OF, Marble reliefs: Liberal Arts, 24 n. 13, 25 n. 15
- Museo di S. Marco
FRA ANGELICO, SCHOOL OF, St. Thomas Aquinas teaching, 28 n. 9
- ## FLORENCE, ENVIRONS
- Ruballa*
- S. Giorgio
DADDI, CLOSE FOLLOWING OF, Madonna and Child, 68 n. 10
- Villa Lemmi* (formerly)
BOTTICELLI, SANDRO, Fresco: Lorenzo Tornabuoni presented to the Liberal Arts, 24 n. 13

ITALY

Private Collection

BONAIUTI, ANDREA, Triptych, 65 n. 3

BONAIUTI, ANDREA, Crucifixion, 49 n. 18

LONDON

National Gallery

BONAIUTI, ANDREA, Polyptych (No. 5115), 68

GIOTTESQUE, Pentecost (No. 5360), 58

JACOPO DI CIONE (WITH WORKSHOP) AND ORCAGNESQUE MASTER, Pinnacle of the S. Pier Maggiore altarpiece: Ascension (No. 577), 69 n., 70 n. 2

JACOPO DI CIONE AND ORCAGNESQUE MASTER, Crucifixion (No. 1468), 46 n. 8

MASTER OF THE LEHMAN CRUCIFIXION, Noli me tangere (No. 3894), 65 n. 3, 67

ORCAGNESQUE MASTER, Noli me tangere (No. 3894), see Master of the Lehman Crucifixion

ORCAGNESQUE MASTER, Pinnacle of the S. Pier Maggiore Altarpiece: Resurrection (No. 575), 65 n. 1

ORCAGNESQUE MASTER AND JACOPO DI CIONE (WITH WORKSHOP), Pinnacle of the S. Pier Maggiore Altarpiece: Pentecost (No. 578), 58 n. 3

Victoria and Albert Museum

DON SILVESTRO DEI GHERARDUCCI, Illumination: Initial S with the Descent of the Holy Spirit (No. 3045), 57 n., 82 n. 30

MADRID

National Library

NICCOLÒ DI GIACOMO, Illumination: Triumph of St. Augustine (D. I. 2), 24 n. 12

MILAN

Biblioteca Ambrosiana

NICCOLÒ DI GIACOMO, Illumination in decretals of 1354: the Liberal Arts and their representatives (Ms. B. 42 inf., fol. 1), 25 n. 16

MUNICH

Staatsbibliothek

C. 1000' Illumination in the so-called Gospel of Otto III: Noli me tangere (f. 251^r), 65 n. 3

NAPLES

S. Maria di Donna Regina

CAVALLINI, PIETRO, SCHOOL OF, Fresco: Resurrection, 65 n. 1

Biblioteca dei Girolomini

XV CENTURY ITALIAN, Illumination: the Creation (No. 219), 22 n. 5

NEW HAVEN, (Conn.)

Yale University Art Gallery, Maitland F. Griggs Bequest

NICCOLÒ DI TOMMASO, St. Bridget's Vision of the Nativity (No. 1943. 236), 40 n. 20

NEW YORK

Metropolitan Museum of Art

EARLY XV CENTURY ITALIAN, Drawing: Navicella (No. 19. 76. 2), 62 n. 3

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lehman Bequest
BIADAILO ILLUMINATOR, Central part of a tabernacle, 30

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lehman Bequest
MASTER OF THE LEHMAN CRUCIFIXION, Pinnacle: Crucifixion, 46, 67 n. 7

Pierpont Morgan Library

PACINO DI BUONAGUIDA, WORKSHOP OF, Illumination: Initial R, Resurrection (Ms. 795, c. 125^f), 65 n. 1

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Lehman, Robert (formerly)

BIADAILO ILLUMINATOR, Central part of a tabernacle, 30

MASTER OF THE LEHMAN CRUCIFIXION, Pinnacle: Crucifixion, 46, 67 n. 7

Linsky, Jack

MASTER OF THE VIRGIN OF MERCY, Head of Christ, 42 n. 29

Scholz, Janos

EARLY XV CENTURY ITALIAN, Two fragments of a drawing: Pentecost, 57 n.

PADUA

Arena Chapel

GIOTTO, Fresco: Last Judgment, 30; Noli me tangere, 65 n. 3, 67, 81 n. 24

PARIS

Louvre

BOTTICELLI, SANDRO, Fresco: Lorenzo Tornabuoni presented to the Liberal Arts (No. 1298), 24 n. 13

GIOTTESQUE, C. 1320-1330, Crucifixion (No. 1665a), 46 n. 2

GOZZOLI, BENOZZO (ASSISTED), Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas (No. 1319), 24 n. 12, 29 n. 21

MARTINI, SIMONE, Way to Calvary (No. 1383), 47 n. 9

Musée des Arts Décoratifs

DADDI, BERNARDO, Predella panel: St. Peter Martyr preaching in Piazza del Mercato Nuovo, 53 n. 8

PERUGIA

Piazza IV Novembre

PISANO, NICOLA AND GIOVANNI, Fountain: the Liberal Arts (Dialectic), 24 n. 13

PHILADELPHIA, (Pa.)

Pennsylvania Museum, John G. Johnson Collection

NICCOLÒ DI TOMMASO, St. Bridget's Vision of the Nativity (No. 120), 40 n. 20

PISA

Baptistry

PISANO, NICOLA, Pulpit, 37 n. 6

Cathedral

PISANO, GIOVANNI, Pulpit, 24 n. 13, 46 n. 3

Cathedral (formerly)

GOZZOLI, BENOZZO (ASSISTED), Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas, 29 n. 21

Camposanto

ANTONIO, VENEZIANO, Frescoes: Scenes from the life of St. Ranieri, 63, 63 n. 8

BONAIUTI, ANDREA, Frescoes: Scenes from the life of St. Ranieri, 7, 7 n. 5, 8, 8 n. 13, 37 n. 9, 43, 82

TRAINI, FRANCESCO, Fresco: Triumph of Death, 36 n. 1, 37, 37 n. 5, 41

TRAINI, FRANCESCO, FOLLOWER OF, Crucifixion, 46 S. Caterina

MARTINI, SIMONE, SCHOOL OF, Panel: Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas, 24 n. 12, 29, 30 n. 26

S. Francesco, Sala del Capitolo di S. Bonaventura

GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO AND WORKSHOP, Frescoes: 17 n. 1, 65 n. 1, 65 n. 3, 69 n.

PISTOIA

S. Francesco, Bracciolini Chapel

AGNOLESQUE MASTER, Triumph of St. Augustine, 24 n. 13, 30

PITEGLIO (Pistoia)

S. Maria Assunta

PACINO DI BUONAGUIDA, WORKSHOP OF, Illumination: Initial R, Resurrection (c. 109), 65 n. 1

PRAGUE

Altstädter Bridge

PARLER CIRCLE, C. 1385, Statue of King Charles IV, 39 n. 16

PRATO

S. Francesco, Migliorati Chapel

GERINI, NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO AND WORKSHOP, Frescoes: 17 n. 1

PRIZREN (Yugoslavia)

Church of the Virgin Ljeviška

EARLY XIV CENTURY, Fresco: Ancestors of Christ, 24 n. 12

ROME

S. Pietro

GIOTTO, Mosaic: Navicella, 62

POLLAIUOLO, ANTONIO, Figure of Theology on tomb of Sixtus IV, 22 n. 5, 23 n. 7, n. 9, 24 n. 13

Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura

RAPHAEL, Fresco: School of Athens, 24 n. 12

Biblioteca Vaticana

NEAPOLITAN SCHOOL, Illumination in Bible of 1362: Creation of the World (Cod. vat. lat. 3550), 22 n. 5

Pinacoteca Vaticana

NICCOLÒ DI TOMMASO, St. Bridget's Vision of the Nativity (No. 137), 40 n. 20

SANO DI PIETRO, Predella panel: St. Peter Martyr's Sermon in Piazza del Mercato Nuovo (No. 141), 53 n. 6

RUBALLA, see FLORENCE, ENVIRONS

SAN GIMIGNANO

Collegiata

BARNA DA SIENA, Fresco: Crucifixion, 46 n. 8, 47 n. 10, 49 n. 17

SIENA

Cathedral

FIRST HALF OF XIV CENTURY, Capital with three allegorical figures, 37 n. 6

PISANO, NICOLA, Pulpit (figure of Sapientia), 24 n. 12, 27 n. 2

VANNI, ANDREA, AND ANTONIO VENEZIANO, Vault frescoes, 63 n. 8

Museo dell'Opera del Duomo

DUCCIO, Maestà, 47 n. 12

Palazzo Pubblico, Sala del Mappamondo

MARTINI, SIMONE, Fresco: Maestà, 49 n. 17

Palazzo Pubblico, Sala de'Nove or della Pace

LORENZETTI, AMBROGIO, Fresco: Allegory of Good Government, 17 n. 5, 19 n. 13, 28, 28 n. 11, 37

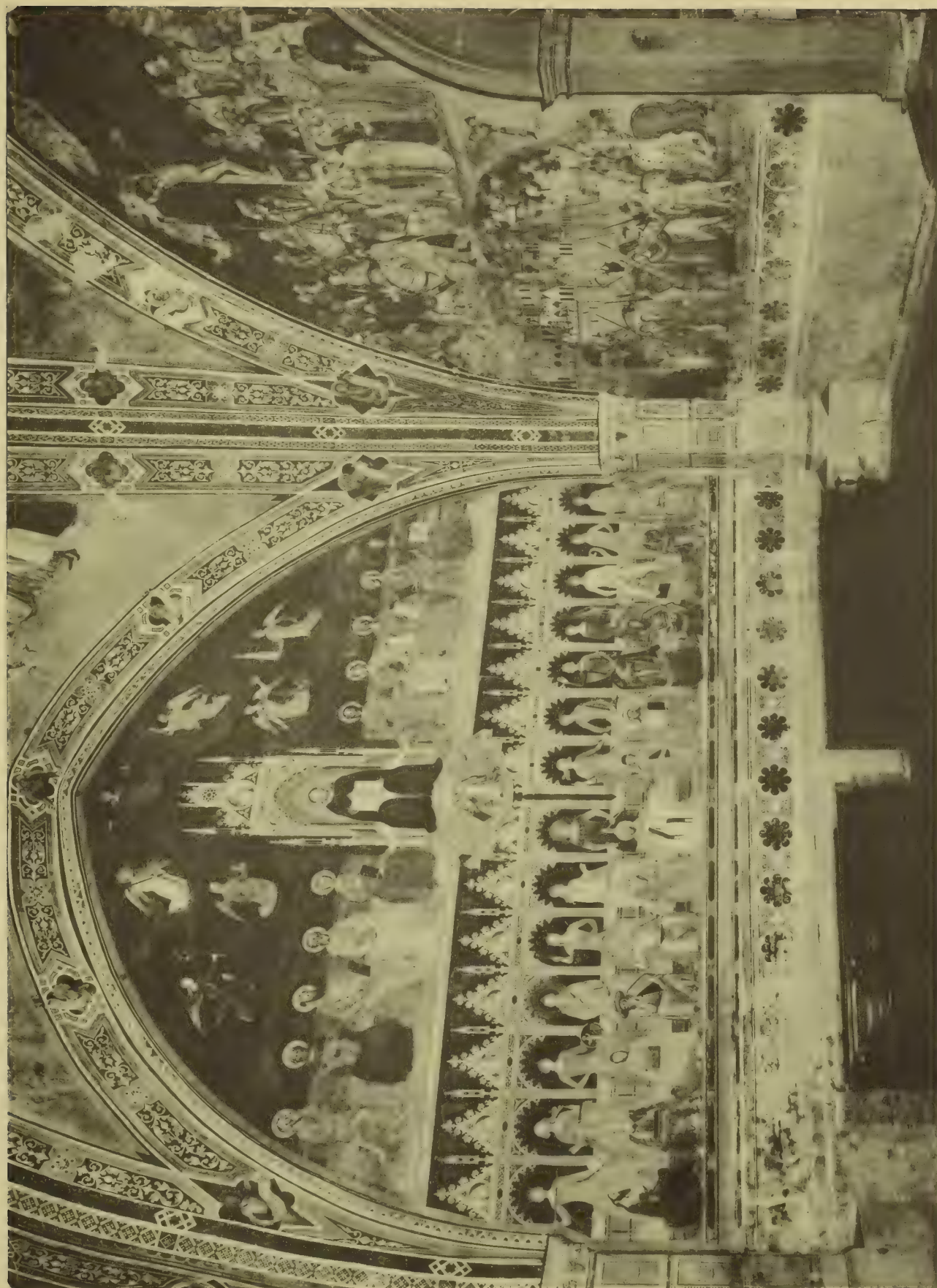
VALENCIA

Biblioteca Universitaria, Augustinian Codex (No. 730), Homiliae (The Creation), 22 n. 5

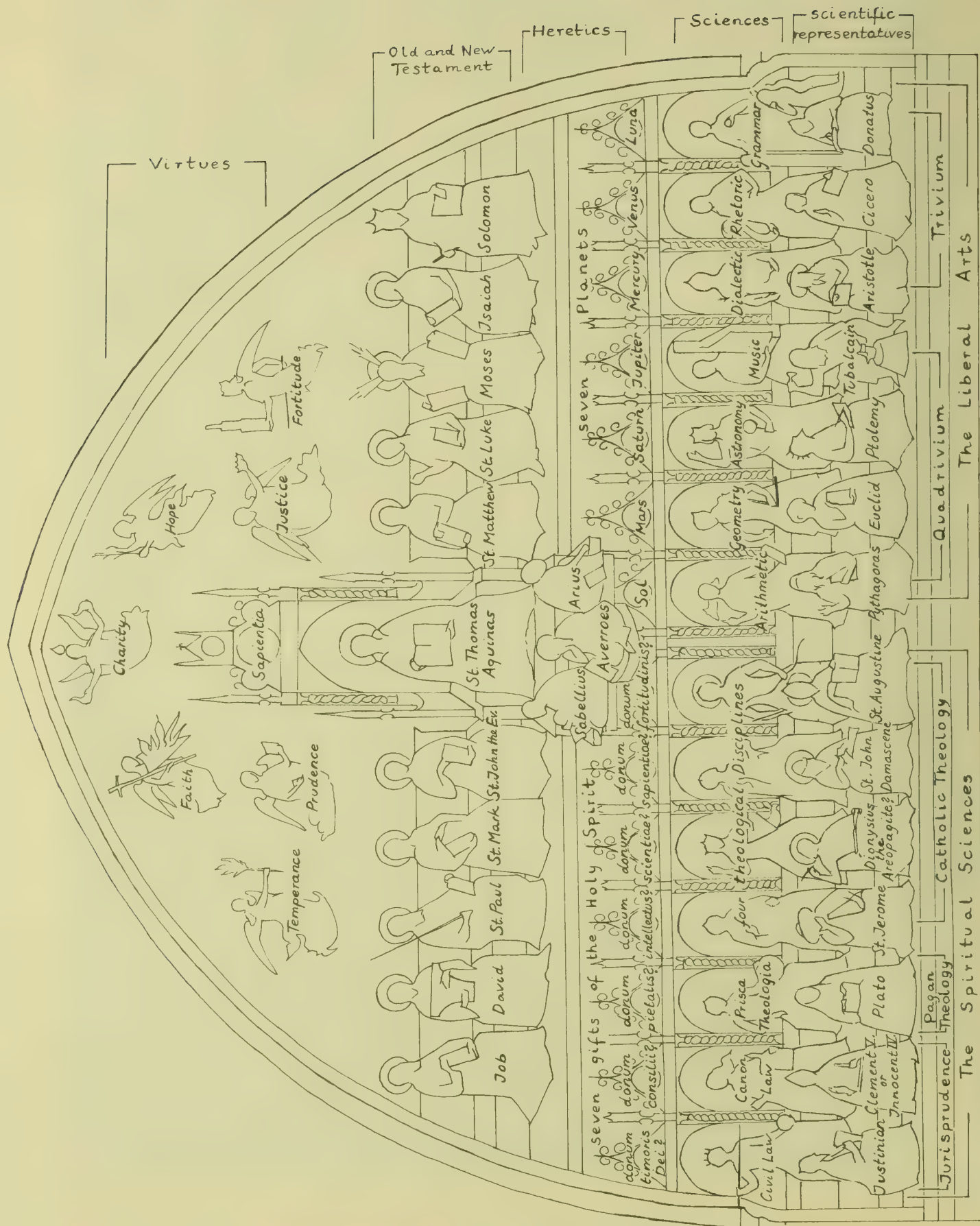
VIENNA

Nationalbibliothek

ITALIAN, EARLY XIII CENTURY, Illumination (f. 119) in a volume containing medical Mss., 24 n. 12



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)



RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE TRIUMPH OF ST. THOMAS FRESCO



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI

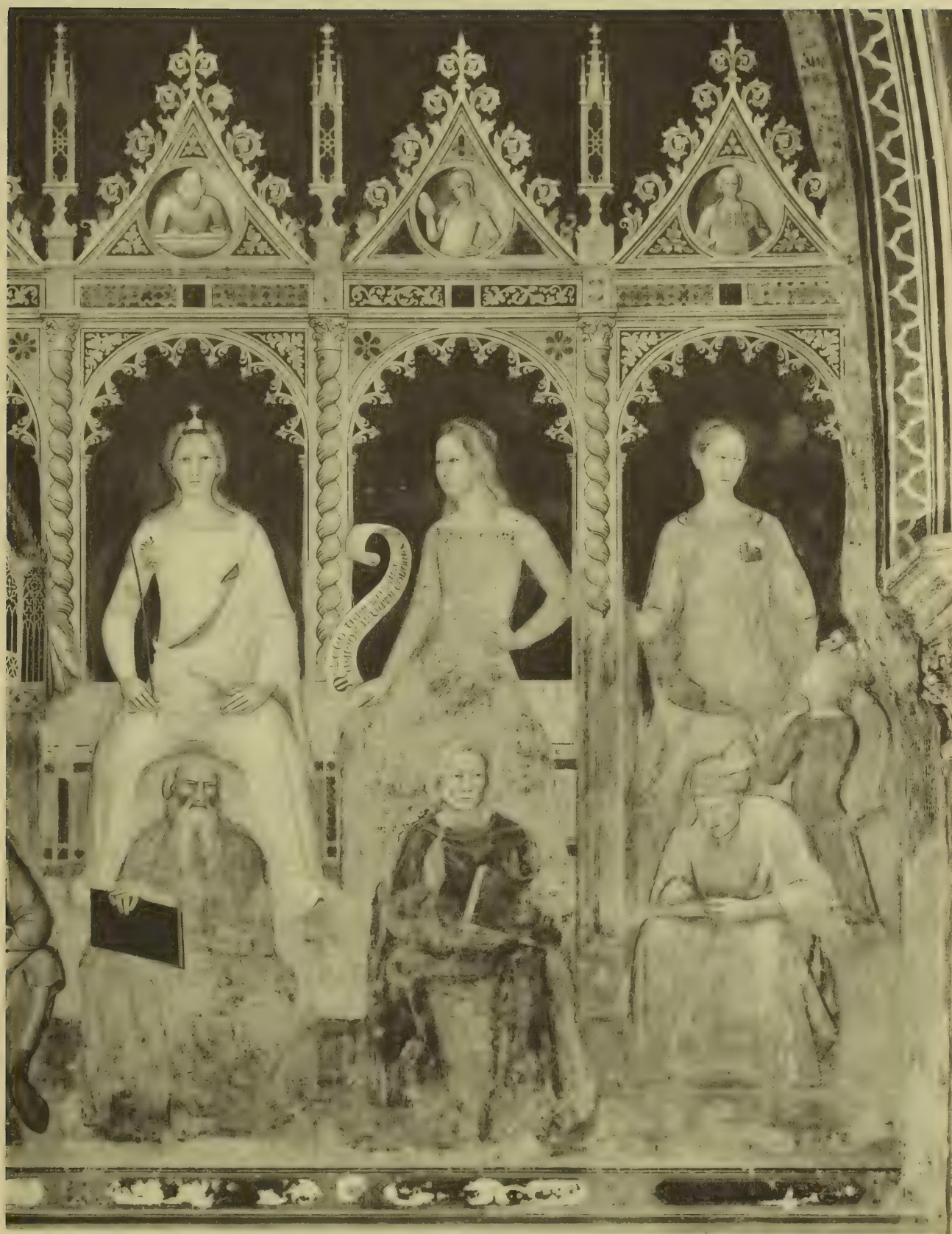


ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



(before restoration)

ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(after the flood)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



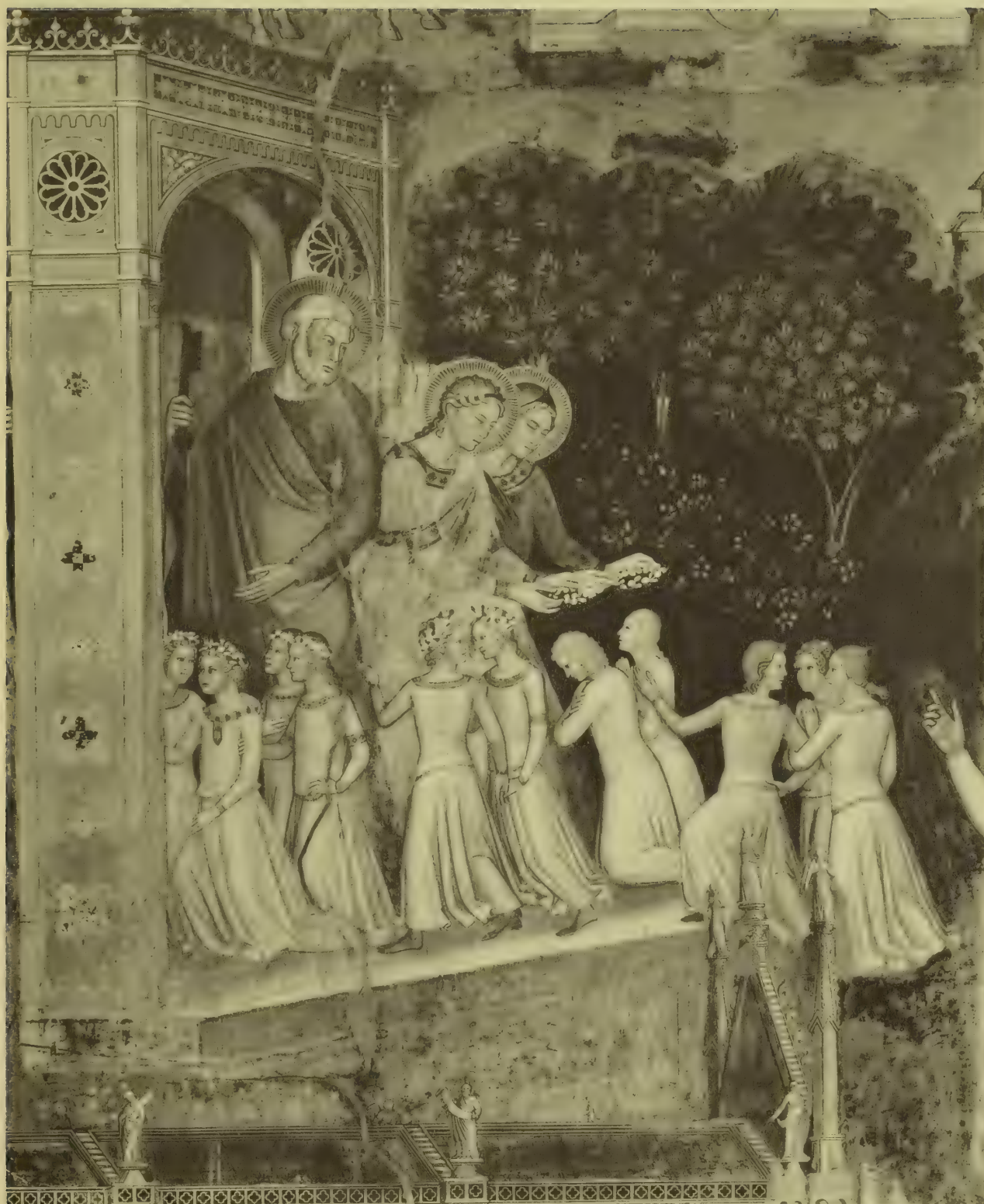
ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



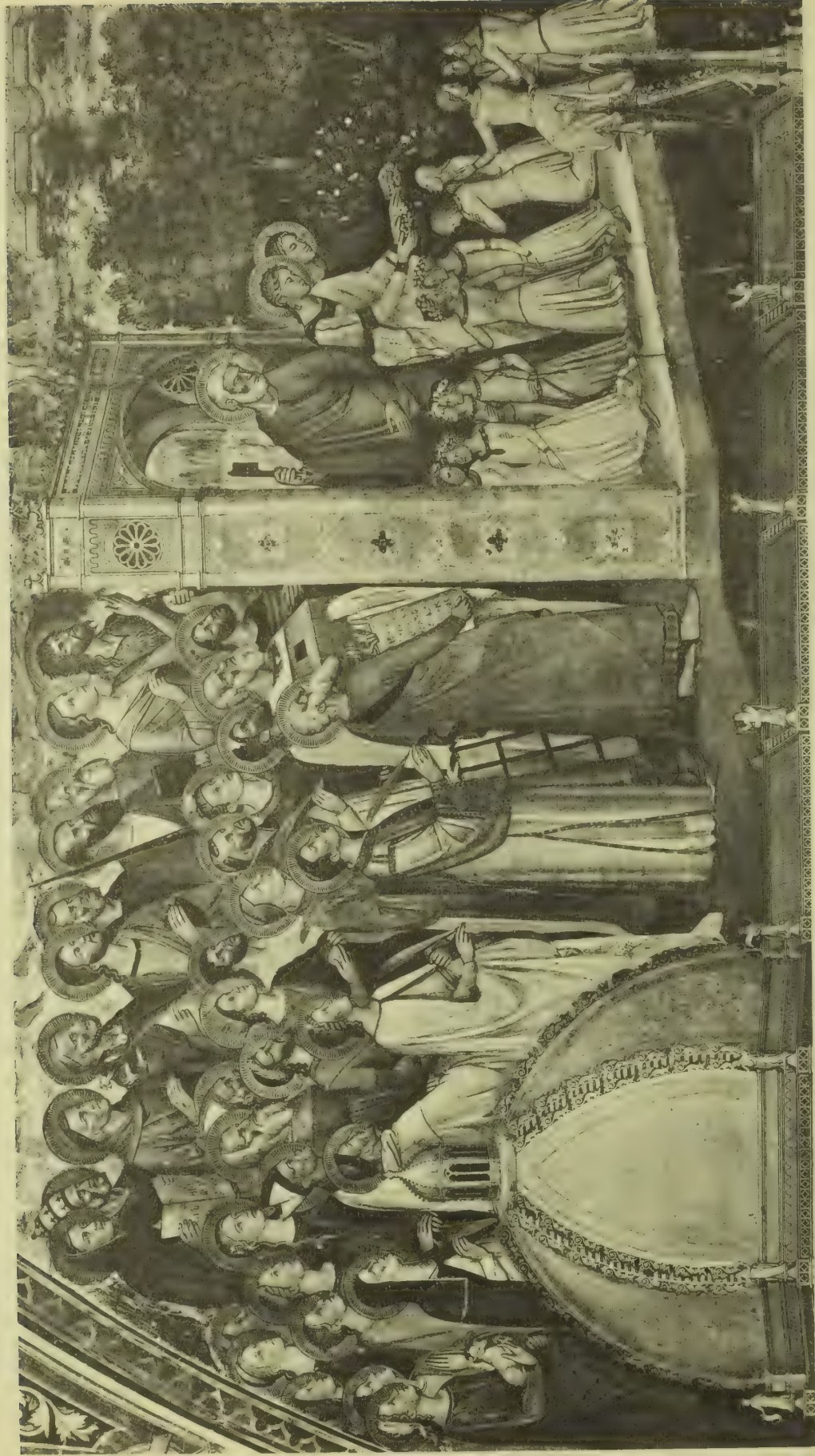
ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND XVTH CENTURY(?)
RESTORER



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS

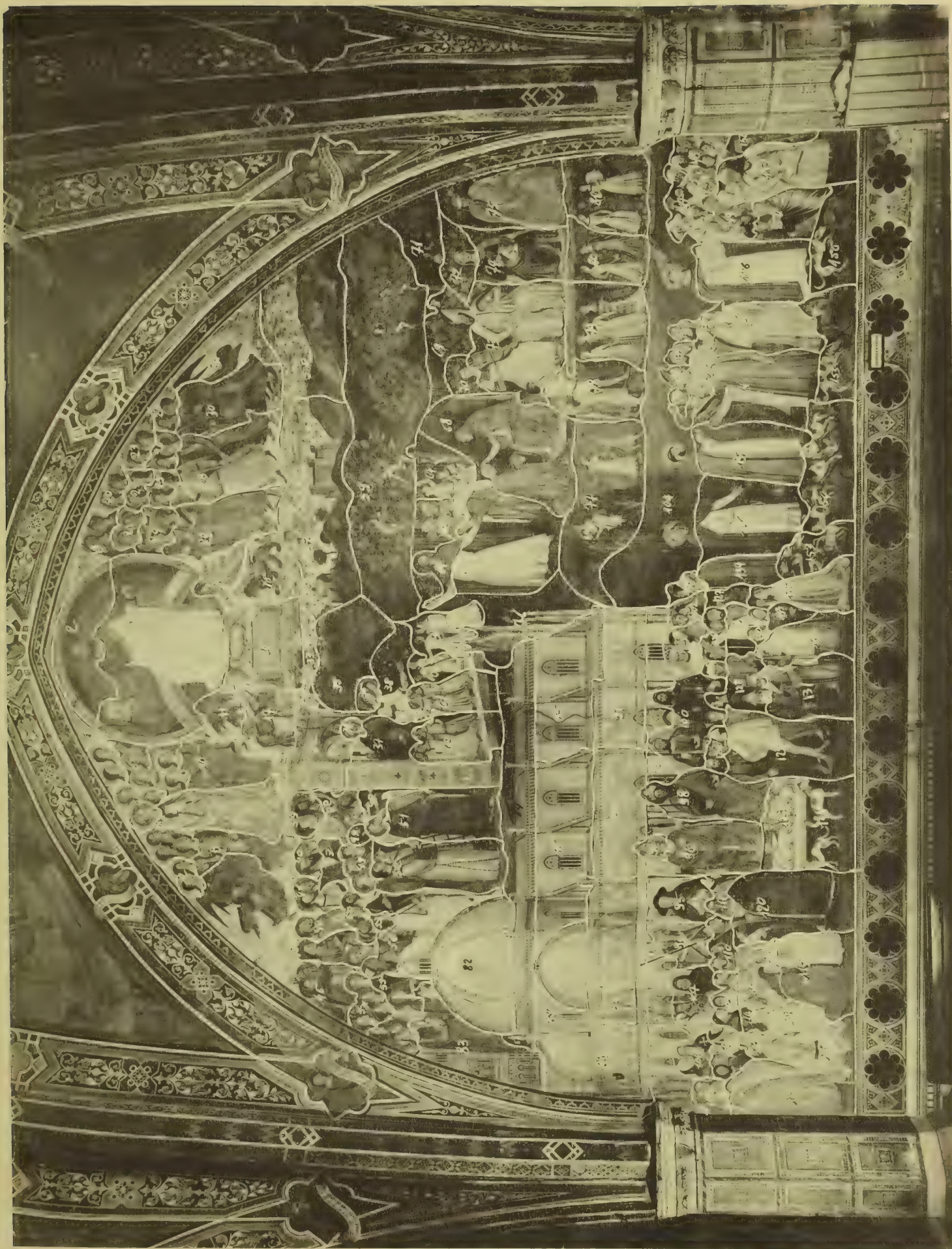


ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS

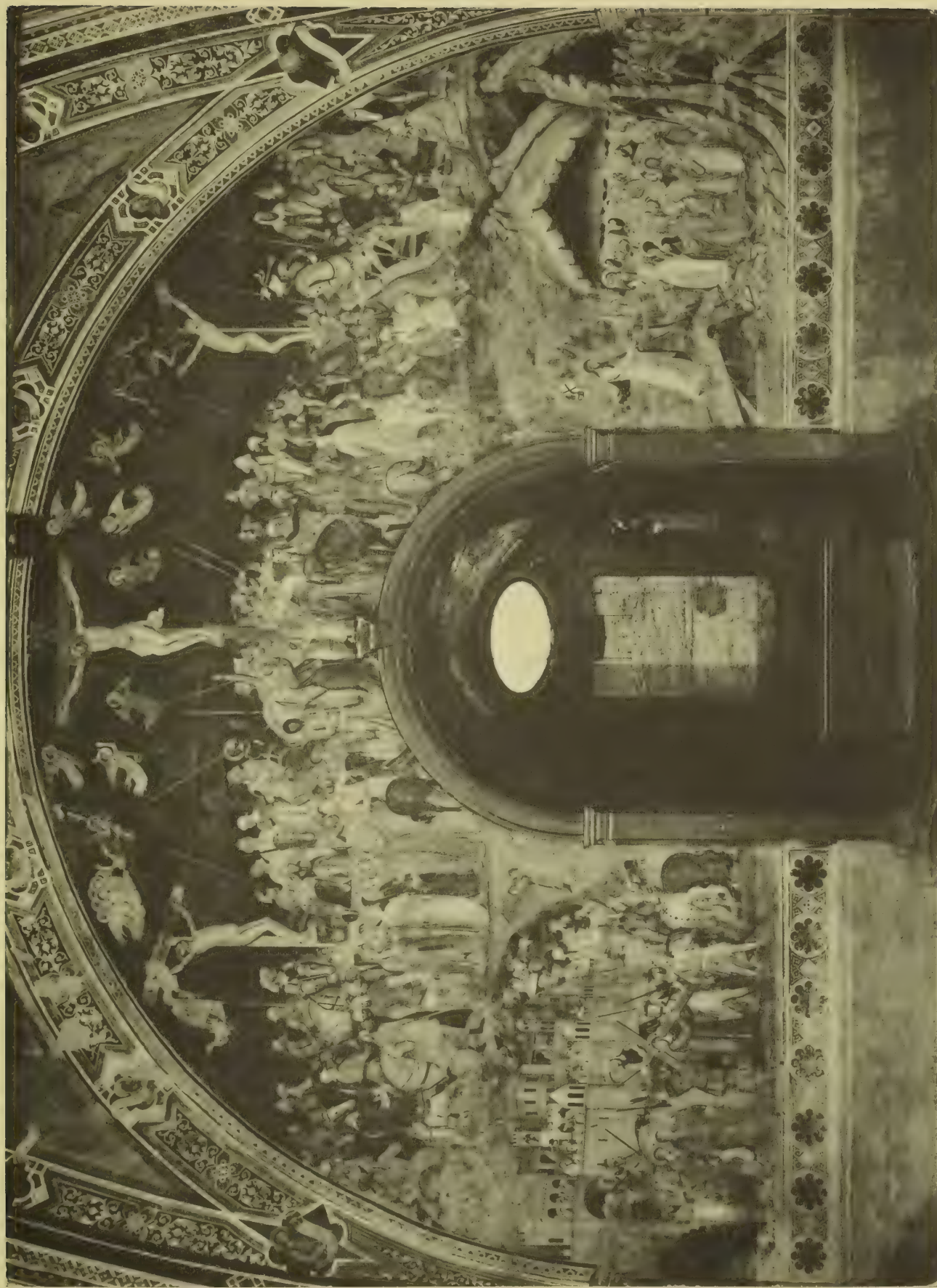
(before restoration)



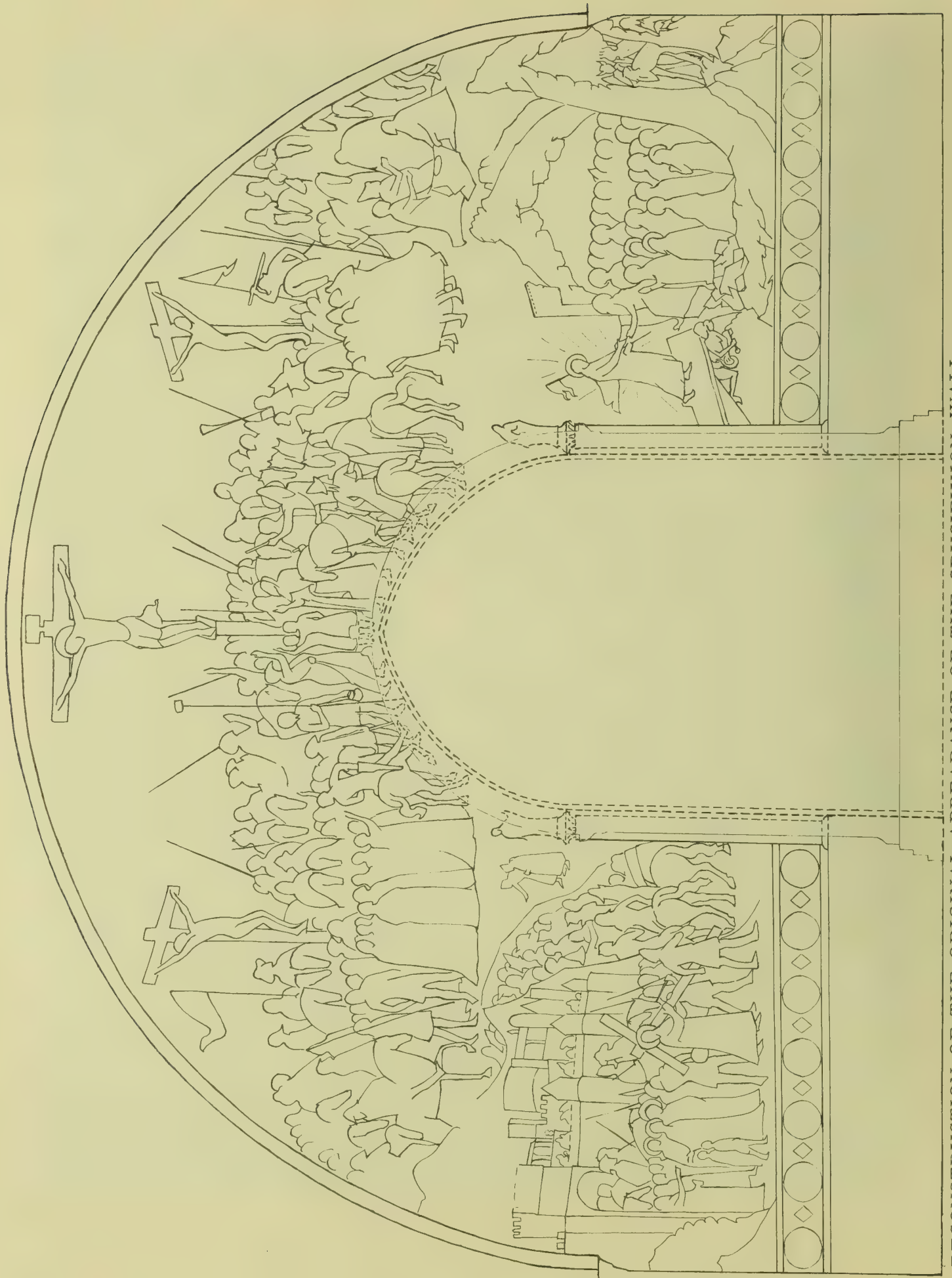
ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ORIGINAL APPEARANCE OF THE CRUCIFIXION WALL



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)

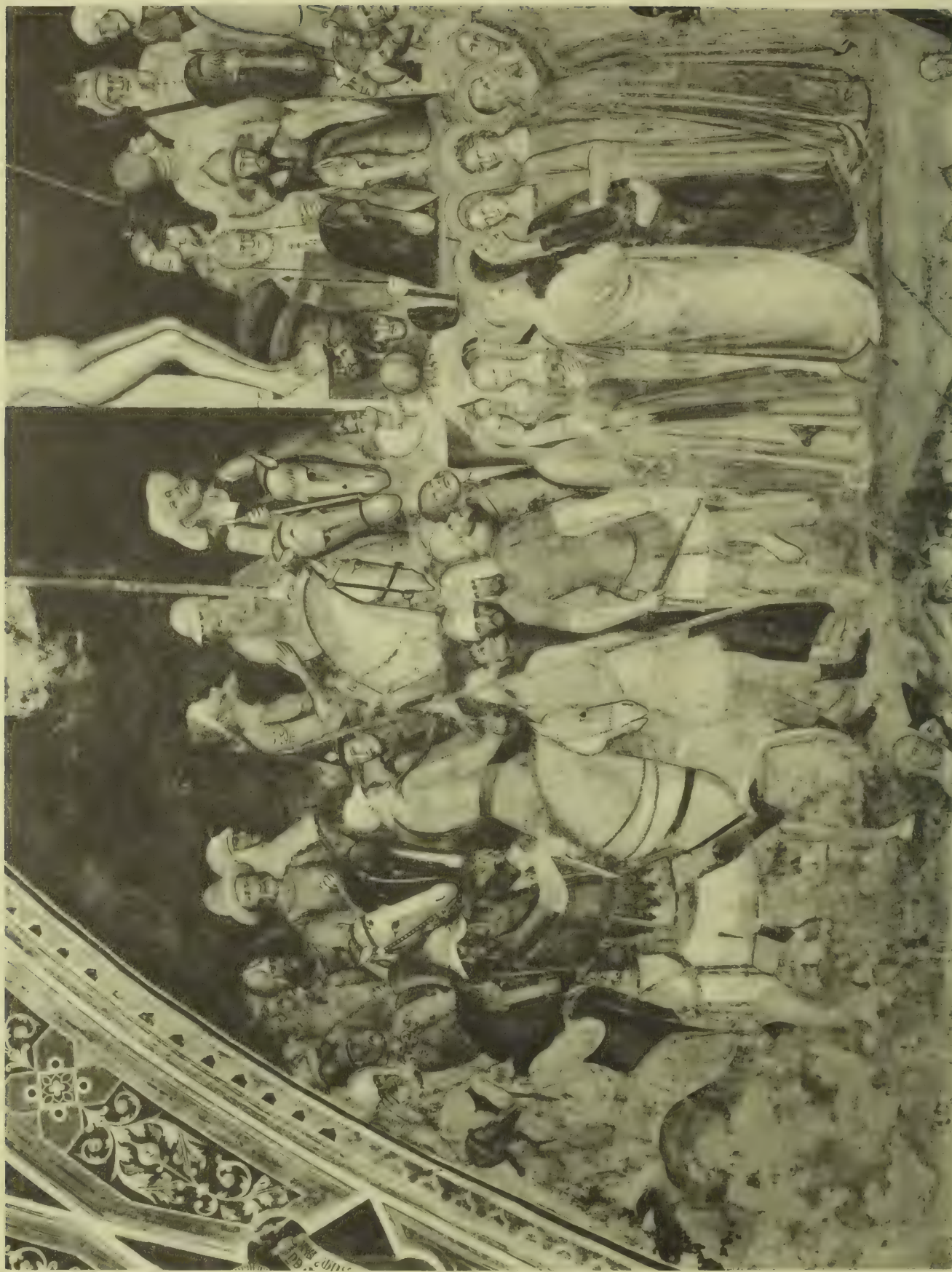


ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



(before restoration)

ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



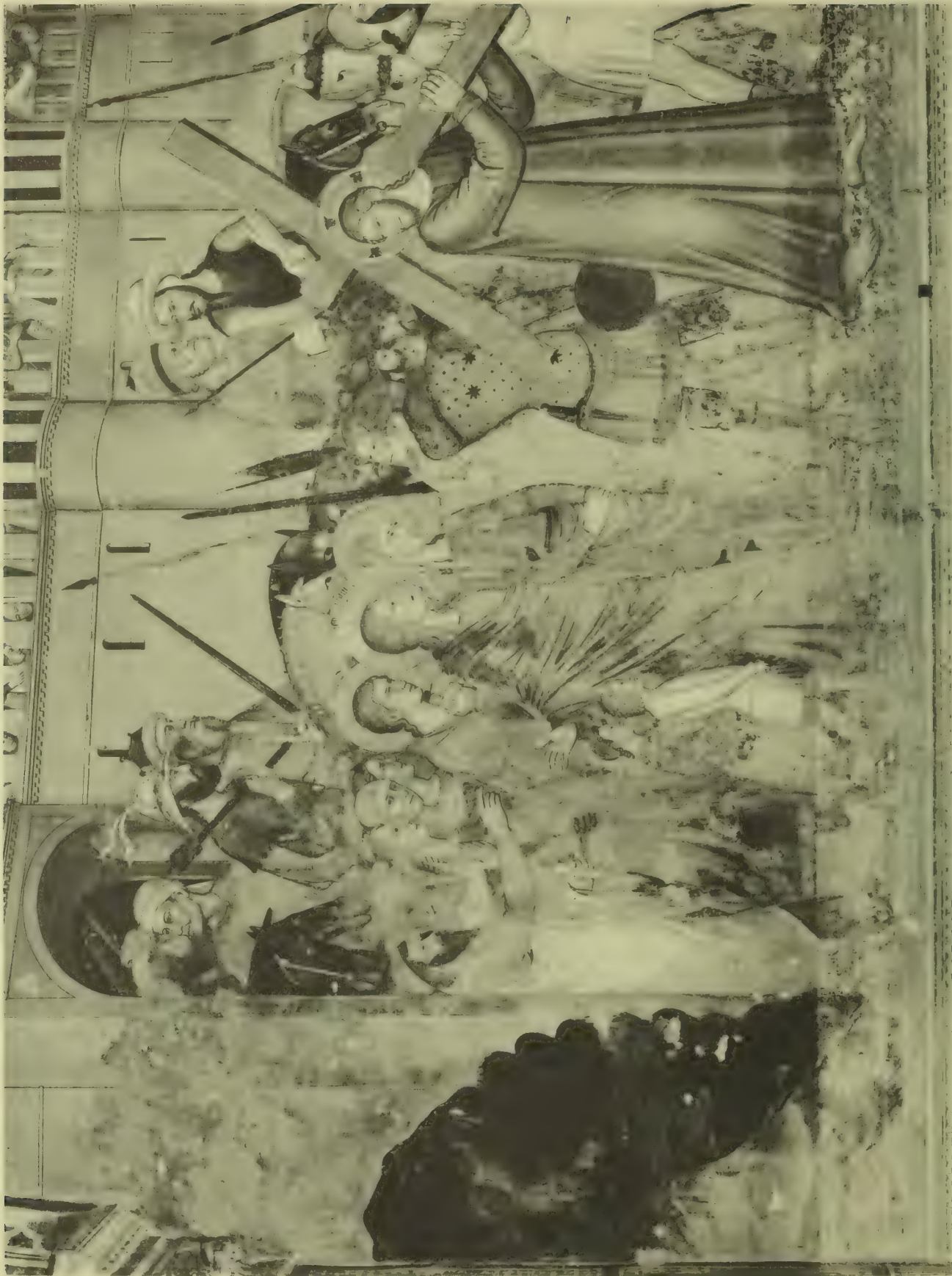
ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



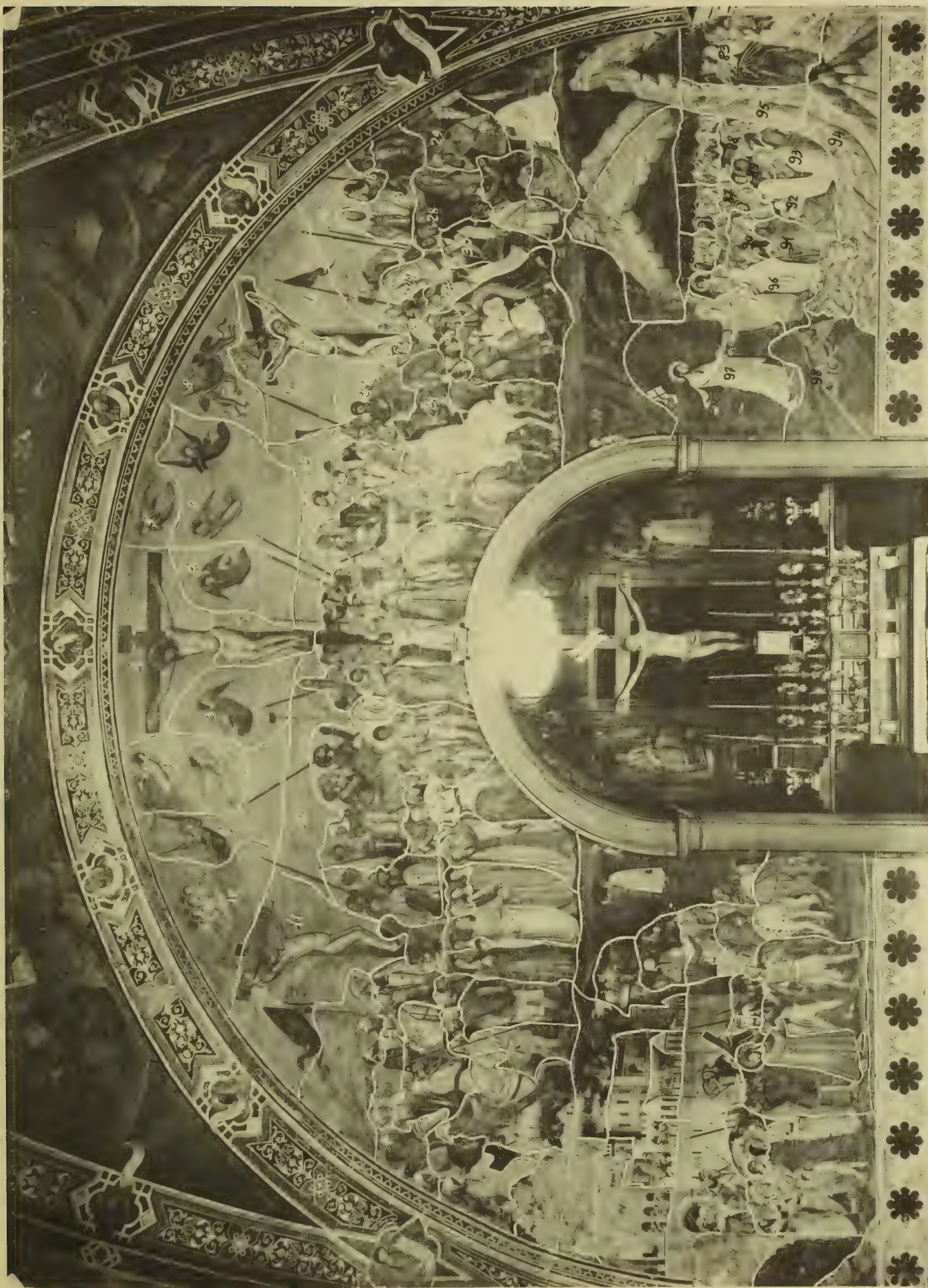
ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI (assisted)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANT

(before restoration)



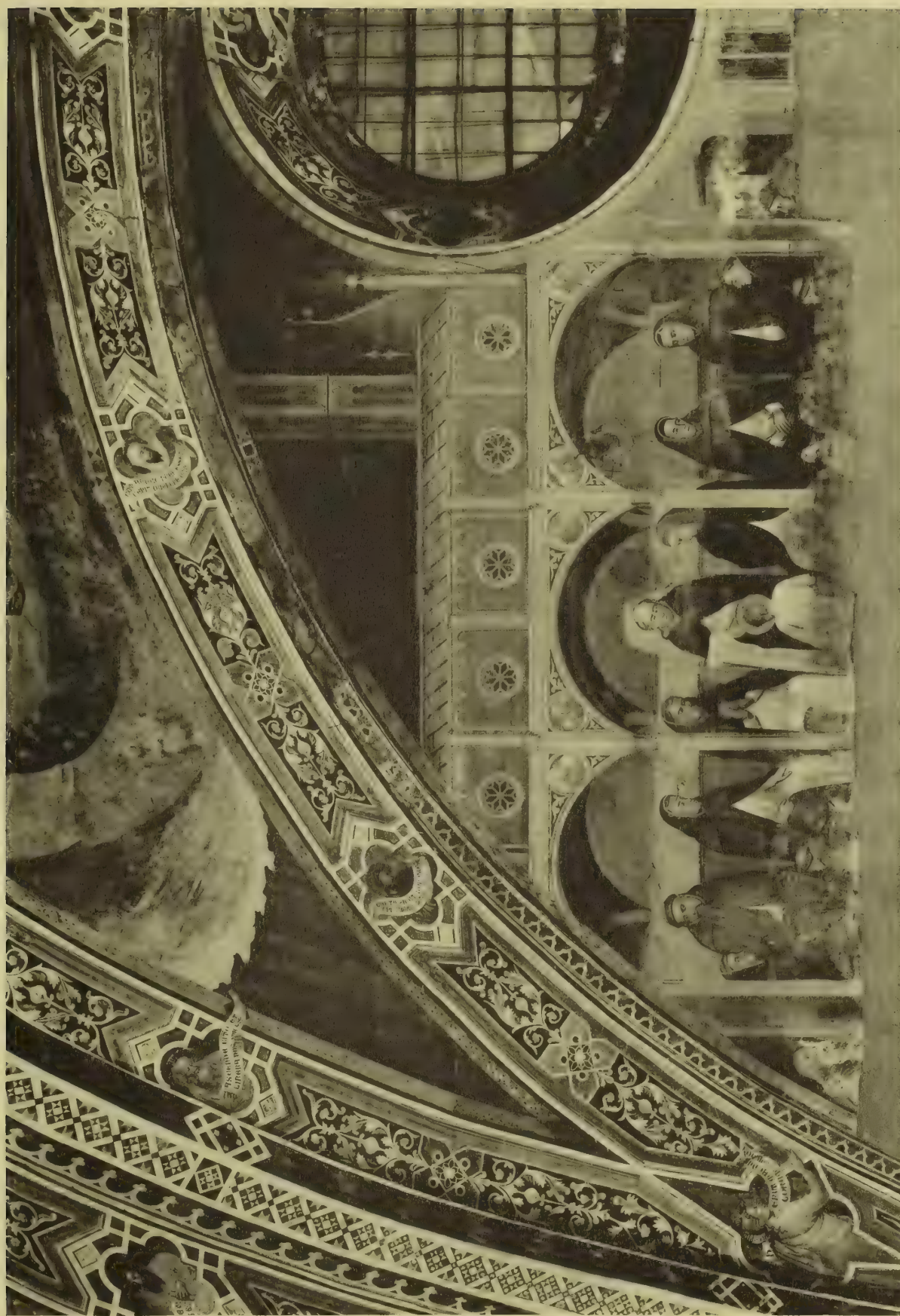
ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANT

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



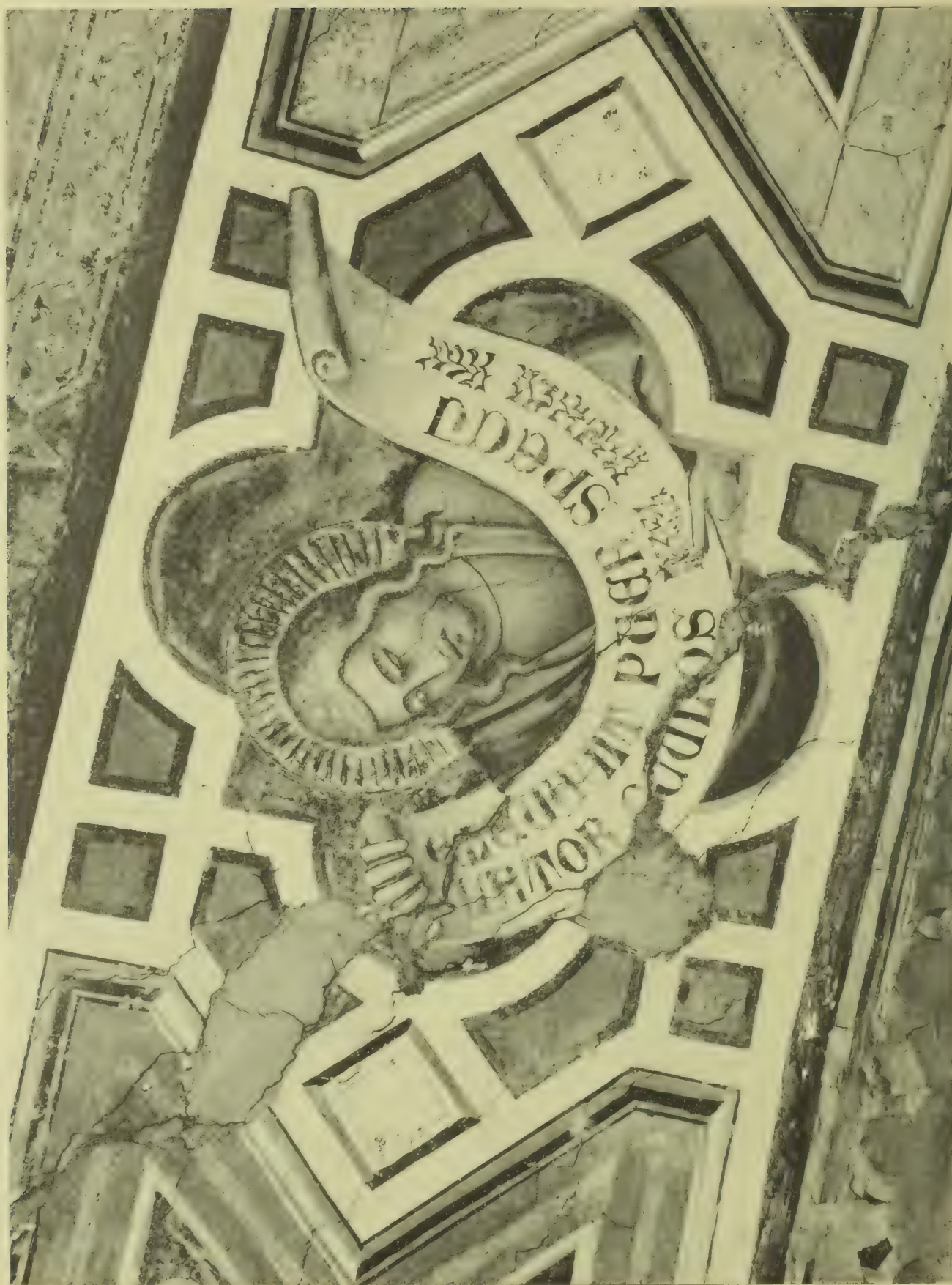
ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



(before restoration)

ANDREA BONAIUTI



ASSISTANT OF ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANT

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANT



ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI'S ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



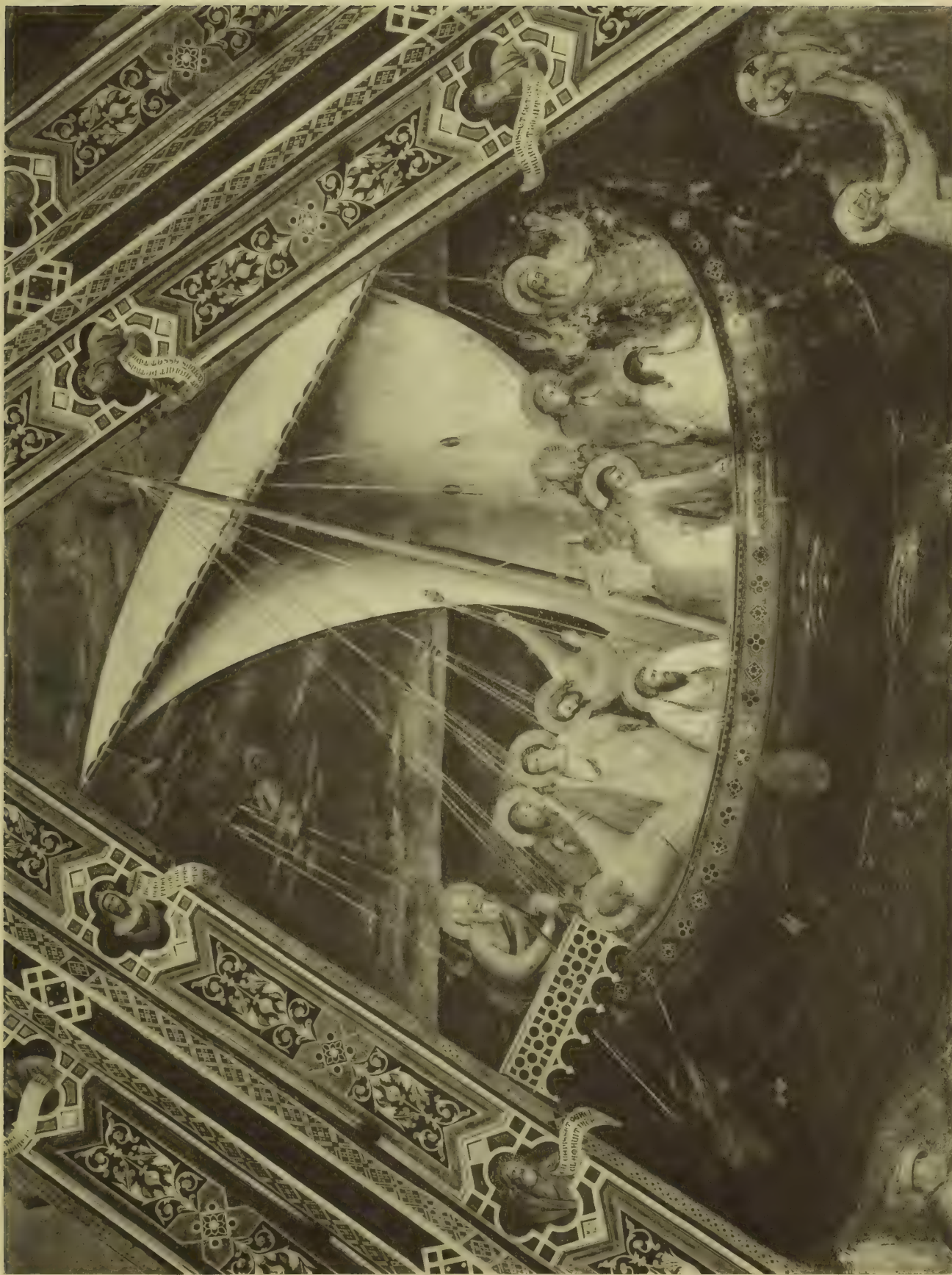
ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(sea, sail, sky only partly restored)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(sky and sail only partly restored)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI



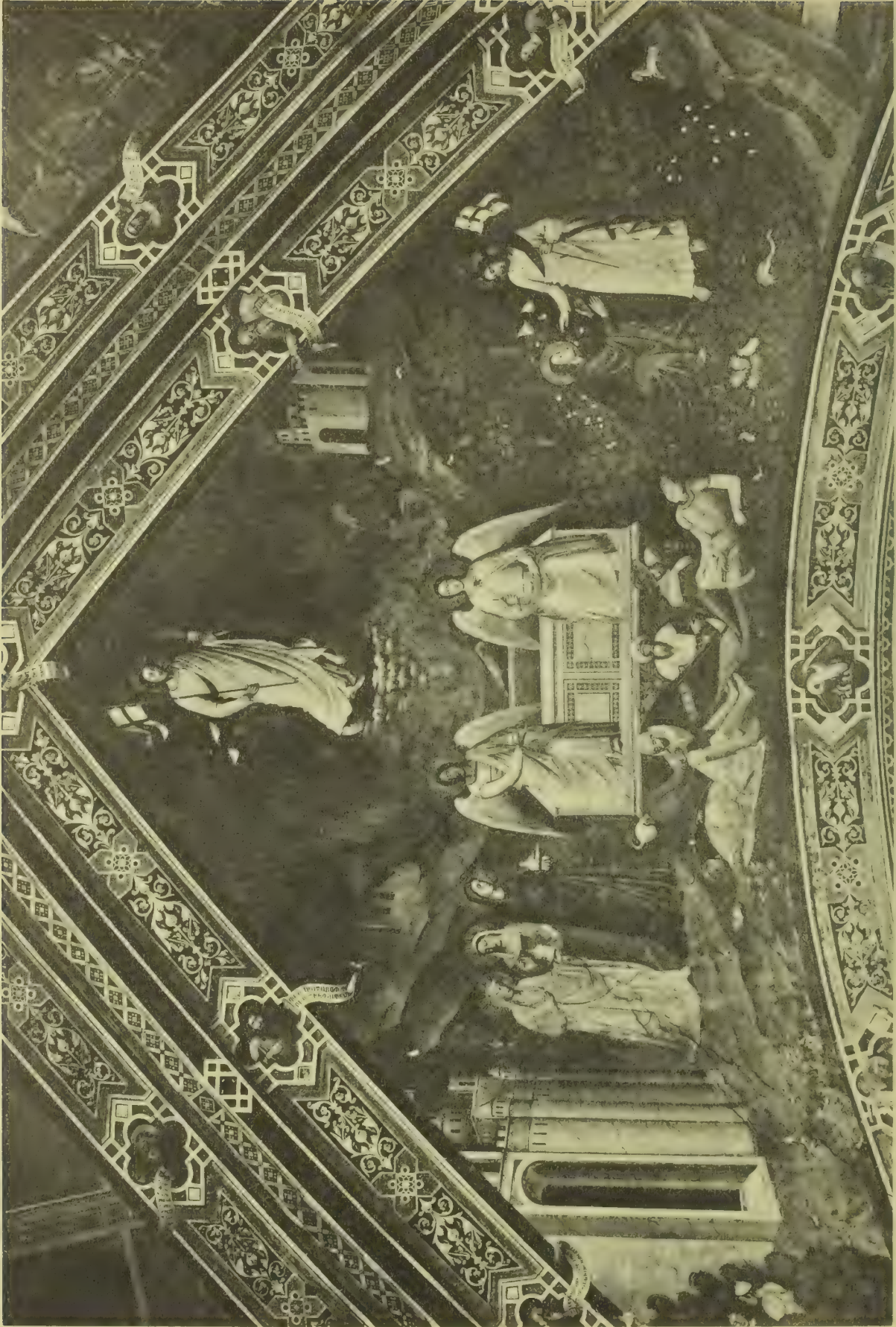
ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANT



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANT



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



(before restoration)

ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



(before restoration)

ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)



(before restoration)

ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS



ANDREA BONAIUTI AND ASSISTANTS

(before restoration)

JAN 14 1981

LOCKED STACKS

[L] ND621.F7 O37 1930 sect.4:v.6
A critical and historical corpus of Flor
D053830320
Duke University Libraries